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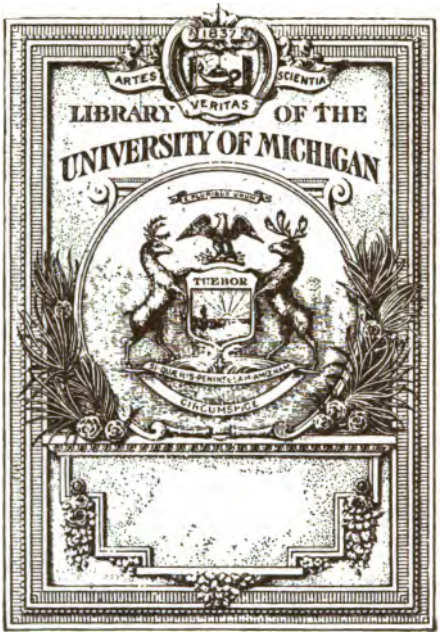

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WHERE THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH STANDS

WHERE THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH STANDS

A Review of Official Definitions Versus Non-Official Theories Concerning the Nature and Extent of The Church Catholic

BY THE

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GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

NEW YORK
E. P. DUTTON AND COMPANY
681 FIFTH AVENUE
1916

E. H. Eskens.
gt.
6-23-1923

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1916

Printed in the U. S. A.

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

To The

EVANGELICAL KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

That, in an age of spiritual narrowness, is nobly endeavoring to keep alive those principles of the

Anglican Reformation

Which,

Protestant against all Ecclesiastical Arrogance—Tolerant of all things save Intolerance itself—and Excluding no Body of Christians on Earth, it rightly proclaims to be the only

ALL-COMPREHENSIVE AND CATHOLIC BASIS

Upon which a divided Christendom

May unite—

These pages are Gratefully Dedicated

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I

THE PROPOSED NAME—ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Where the Protestant Episcopal Church Stands

I

THE PROPOSED NAME—ITS SIGNIFICANCE

THAT the Protestant Episcopal Church is a part of the Holy Catholic Church is a fact universally admitted by all classes within our communion, and did the present agitation for a change of name contemplate nothing further than the mere expediency of emphasizing that fact upon the title page of the Prayer Book or elsewhere, little objection would or could be raised to it. In reality, however, the object of this movement is of far deeper significance. It is not merely to emphasize the fact that this Church is a legitimate branch of the Catholic Church that this matter has been systematically kept before the General Conventions of the Church for years past. The real, underlying motive of the movement is to bring about a further fundamental change in the doctrinal position of the Church. This, indeed, should have been obvious

when the attempt was made to strike out the word "Protestant" from our legal title. But while the significance of this resolution in behalf of this particular change is now, perhaps, fairly well appreciated, it so happens that there are few apparently, who are alive to the real meaning and intent of the other titles suggested. All these, in one way or another, propose to incorporate the word "Catholic" in the official title of this particular branch of the Universal Church. That such an attempt, irrespective of the motive involved, is necessarily beset with difficulties should be obvious even upon a casual examination of the problem. For, first of all, it must be remembered that as long as the organic unity of the Church Universal is not an existent fact, denominational titles—which are necessarily differentiative—are absolutely essential to distinguish the several branches of the Catholic Church, nor could the mere adoption of some common appellation, in itself, effect the unity desired, or accomplish anything but confusion worse confounded. If every legitimate branch of the Church Catholic, simply because of its consciousness of substantial connection therewith, should follow the lead of the Roman Church and call itself "The Holy Catholic Church," this, in itself, would accomplish nothing for the cause of organic unity or union between the several "branches." On the other hand, it would lead to hopeless obscurity in all legal and practical affairs. Moreover, the adoption of such a title would be as illogical as it would be inexpedient. For to give to this "branch"

of the Catholic Church, as its denominational or "branch" title, any such appellation as "The Catholic Church," "The Holy Catholic Church," etc., such as was actually suggested at one stage of the discussion, would involve the absurdity of designating a *part* by the title belonging only to the *whole*. It would be nothing less absurd than to call the State of Wisconsin the United States of America, merely because the former rightly claims to be a legitimate part of the latter. Unless we are prepared to make the monstrous claim that the entire Church Catholic is *coterminous* with that particular body known as the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that all other "churches" so called, are but human societies having no real connection with the true Body of Christ, there is obviously no sensible pretext for the adoption of such a title. The Roman Church, indeed, does actually make such an extravagant claim for herself, and it is because of this very fact that she does consistently repudiate all Christian Bodies not in visible communion with the Roman See, condemning them as mere man-made societies.

Even the most ardent supporter of the Fond du Lac agitation is not prepared for such extravagant pretensions on our part. The most extreme "Catholic" Churchman fully recognizes the claims of Roman, Greek, and Anglican Churches to be legitimate parts of the Catholic Church. This being the case, we say that the adoption of such a name as the official title of this particular communion would be senseless, even from their point of view, since it would not

even have the pretense of rational justification that the Roman view involves, and would entail endless confusion. To have a number of Churches each calling itself the "Holy Catholic Church"; yet refusing to enter into organic union with one another would simply mean chaos in the Ecclesiastical world. From the standpoint of expediency, then, the proposition is impracticable, while from the standpoint of logic it is absurd. We would not notice it here at all, were it not that such a title has been seriously proposed from time to time. In short, for this denomination to adopt the title "The Catholic Church," or "The Holy Catholic Church," as its official name would be simply to do one of two things —either (*a*) to claim that this Church is the one and only Church Catholic on earth—all others being excluded from the visible Body of Christ; or else, (*b*) to be guilty of the absurdity of giving to a part the title which can only logically belong to the whole. It was doubtless to avoid this dilemma, which must indeed have been patent to the leaders of the movement, that the more defensible title of "The American Catholic Church" came gradually to the forefront.

The American Catholic Church

The advantage of this appellation is that it is undeniably a *branch* title and so avoids the absurdity of either of the above implications. If we should adopt it, we would neither be guilty of claiming to

be the whole Church on Earth, nor could it be said that we had given to a part the title belonging to the whole. In short, the name American Catholic directly connects us with the Church Universal throughout the world, while it simultaneously differentiates or distinguishes us from all other parts or branches of that Church. To borrow an expression from a little book entitled *A Handbook of Information* published some time ago by the Young Churchman Co., of Milwaukee, this proposed name has the advantage of suggesting "Historic Identity with the Church of the Ages" (*i.e.*, in the word "Catholic") and simultaneously by the prefix "American" such identity is further "localized" so "as to imply this particular body in the United States and none other." Here then we have a proposition presented, which, on the surface, appears to be a very harmless one, even, if to many of us, the necessity for it is not so apparent. For to those who do not look beneath the surface, it seems at first sight to be a reasonable proposition that if that part of the Holy Catholic Church originating in Italy be designated the *Roman* Catholic Church—that part originating in Greece be designated the *Greek* Catholic Church—that part originating in England, the *Anglican* or *Anglo*-Catholic, then that part which originated in America should likewise be legitimately termed the *American* Catholic. But what about the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and other bodies likewise in America? Are they to be excluded from the Catholic Church? Is this Protestant

Episcopal Church the only true branch of the Catholic Church native to America—hence the only one that can logically claim to be the American Catholic Church? Now this is a very embarrassing question. In fact, it is so embarrassing that it is most carefully avoided—not only by "Catholics," but by a large number of more moderate Churchmen who have been completely misled in their estimate of these matters by certain extravagant claims of modern Episcopacy. Yet this is the crux of the whole matter. In short, if he is cornered, and obliged to make a definite answer, the "Catholic" Churchman replies—"No, the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist and, in fact, the Protestant bodies generally, are not parts or branches of the Catholic Church, for the reason that they have not the Historic Episcopate which is *absolutely essential* to the ministry, Sacraments, and, in general, the *being* of the Church." *Nullus Episcopus, Nulla Ecclesia* ("No Bishop—No Church") is a fundamental motto, hence of all the so-called Protestant bodies existing in America, that which is now termed the Protestant Episcopal Church is the only one that can legitimately claim to be a true branch of the Catholic Church, for in this alone is the Historic Episcopate represented. It is for this reason, therefore, that it can alone claim in very truth to be the American Catholic Church, as it is the one distinctively *American* branch of that Church. This, then, is the significance of the proposed name. It at once emphasizes our connection with the true

Church Catholic, while it simultaneously differentiates us from all the Protestant "Sects." It will, of course, be immediately evident also to our readers what a wonderful advantage this name will have over the present clumsy title in promoting the cause of Christian Unity—especially in winning the Protestant "Sects" from the error of their ways, and giving them the opportunity of discovering the true Church Universal. As Dr. Manning so cogently expressed it upon the floor of the last convention, a Church that is leading the movement for Universal Christian Unity should not be encumbered by so narrow an appellation. It should have a more "Comprehensive" title—and what more "Comprehensive" than "American Catholic"? That is to say what more "comprehensive" than that designation which makes the Catholic Church coterminus with the Historic Episcopate, and consigns all non-Episcopal bodies to the limbo of the "unconverted heathen." Lest it be thought that we are somewhat exaggerating the import of this view in its relation to the limits of the Catholic Church, it may be well to cite a few passages from the works of some well-known authorities. Beginning with the Tractarians, whom all good "Catholics" regard as authoritative, and as pioneers in the exposition of their tenets within the English Church, we find the British *CRITIC*—"their principal organ in England"—thus expressing itself: "A Church . . . is such only by virtue of that from which it obtains its Unity—and it obtains its Unity only from that in which it centers,

viz.:—*the Bishop*. . . . Therefore we declare . . . that *the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the Church that without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church, nor any Christian man: no, not so much as in name.* For he, as successor of the Apostles . . . is the source of and fountain, as it were, of all those mysteries of the Catholic Church, through which we obtain Salvation. *And we hold the necessity of a Bishop to be as great in the Church as the breath of life is in a man, or as the Sun is in the system of Creation.*" (Quoted by Schmucker, *Hist. of All Religions*, pp. 293, 294.) With the exception of that portion which denies that even *individual* Christians can exist apart from the Bishop—(a matter upon which there is diversity of opinion) the above may be said to express the unanimous opinion not only of the Tractarians and their followers, but of many High Churchmen of the present time—"without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church"; ergo, all non-Episcopal bodies are outside the pale of the Church. Says Bishop Hobart: "Whoever is in Communion with the Bishop, the Supreme governor of the Church on Earth, is in Communion with the Head of it; and *whoever is not in Communion with the Bishop, is thereby cut off from Communion with Christ.*" (*A Companion to the Festival and Fast*, p. 59.) So also Dr. Dix tells us that no man can be "a lawful minister" who has not been "ordained by the Bishop." The "Protestant Sects" are not Churches at all, but have "*cut themselves off from the Catholic Church, by abandoning the Catholic Ministry.*"

(Trinity Church Catechism.) Again, the Rev. Walker Gwynne affirms that at the time of the Reformation, "large bodies of Christians under Luther, Calvin, Knox, and others, *broke away from the Catholic Church* in its corrupt state, and formed *independent sects*. . . . Instead of rejecting only the Roman errors, which were new, they rejected also the Catholic Ministry and worship, which were apostolic and old, *and thus cut themselves off from the Catholic Church.*" (*Manual of Christian Doctrine*, p. 199.) He also informs us on the next page, that "The Catholic Church," from which the above mentioned Protestants "broke away" or "cut themselves off" is "*the only way to Salvation.*" That it has "*three* great branches," viz.: "The Churches in Communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury"; "The Churches in Communion with the Greek Bishop or Patriarch of Constantinople"; and "The Churches in Communion with the Bishop of Rome." All other "*Societies today calling themselves Churches,*" have no right to the title—they are mere "*Sects.*" To the same effect the Rev. E. W. Hunter informs us that "The Church of God" is one, as to Holy Orders: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, Holy as to teaching, Catholic as to jurisdiction, Apostolic as to origin." That "In these United States there are *three* religious bodies that fulfil these essential requirements, namely: The 'Protestant Episcopal' Church, The 'Roman Catholic' Church, The Greek Church. (*The Holy Catholic Church*, p. 11.) And again that "there are *three* principal branches of the

Holy Catholic Church: The Anglican, called in the United States the 'Protestant Episcopal'; the 'Holy Roman,' and the 'Holy Orthodox.' (*Important Items Regarding the Church*, p. 4.) He adds also that on account of our unfortunate title; "Protestant Episcopal," only two of these bodies are "popularly supposed to fulfill these requirements," viz.:—the "Roman Catholic and the Greek." *Therefore*, he argues that this "Modern and Sectarian" title . . . "which operates as an obstacle to Christian Unity" should give place to that of "The American Catholic Church." Numbers of other quotations could be adduced to the same effect but the above are amply sufficient to show that in the opinion, not only of our so-called "Catholic" Churchman, but also of a large number of High Churchmen, the Protestant Churches, so-called, are not churches at all but man-made "Sects." *They have no part or parcel in the Holy Catholic Church*, for they "*broke away*" from this Church, or "*cut themselves off*" from it by "*abandoning the Catholic Ministry*," that is *the Historic Episcopate*, which is so absolutely essential to the being of the Church that "*without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church.*" Hence, as the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, and the rest of the Protestant "Sects" are no part of the Catholic Church on account of the absence of the Historic Episcopate, and as we, the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, are the only ones to retain this absolute essential, it follows inevitably that we, and we alone,

represent the American branch of the Holy Catholic Church. We should therefore clearly proclaim the fact to the world by calling ourselves "The American Catholic Church."

Now it must be fully confessed that if this is *the official* teaching of the Protestant Episcopal Church with regard to the nature and limits of the Catholic Church, the conclusion derived from it is inevitable, and the legitimacy of calling ourselves The American Catholic Church cannot be denied: but—it must also be as fully confessed again, that if this is not *the official* teaching of the Protestant Episcopal Church with regard to the nature and limits of the Catholic Church, but on the contrary is absolutely incompatible with that teaching, then the conclusion derived from it is false, and the adoption of the title American Catholic involves nothing more or less than *a fundamental change in the doctrinal position of the Church.* It so happens that the above conception of the nature and limits of the Catholic Church is *not* that which has received *the official* Sanction of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but is absolutely inconsistent therewith, hence any attempt to adopt the name, The American Catholic Church, means, in plain English, an attempt to change a fundamental principle. We now propose to prove the truth of this assertion, by submitting evidence as to what *the official* teaching of *this* Church really is, as to the nature and limits of the Catholic Church.

Official View of the Church

We purpose to show first, that the Church of England, and secondly, that the Protestant Episcopal, have from the very beginning consistently maintained but one attitude on the subject of the nature and limits of the Catholic Church; that instead of limiting it to the sphere of the Episcopal Churches, they have *officially* declared it to cover *the entire body of baptized persons, and even professing Christians, throughout the world*, and have further *recognized some of the non-Episcopal Churches by name as legitimate branches thereof*. Before presenting the direct evidence upon this point (which is abundant), we desire to pave the way by calling attention to a certain matter which although bearing only indirectly on the subject, nevertheless affords evidence which is conclusive. It is the official teaching of the Church of England, as well as of the Protestant Episcopal Church that Baptism is that rite by which we are incorporated into the Body of Christ, which body is *the Catholic Church.*

"The Church, which is His Body." (Ephes. i., 22, 23.) This fact is so generally admitted that it seems unnecessary to cite evidence for the confirmation of it, but for form's sake we refer the reader to the following: "Baptism wherein I was made a member of Christ (*i.e.* of His Body—the Church) the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven." (Catechism.) "Grant to this child that thing which by nature he cannot have; that he may

be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's Holy Church, and be made a living member of the Same." (Pub. Baptism of Infants—English Pr. Book.) And immediately upon the consummation of the act of Baptism, the officiating Clergyman says: "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock." . . . "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." . . . "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most Merciful Father that it has pleased Thee to . . . incorporate him into Thy Holy Church, etc." (Pub. Bap. Infants-English Pr. Book.) (Practically the same expressions occur also in the corresponding offices of our own Prayer Book. From these and numberless other declarations set forth by authority, it is easily deduced that this is the teaching of the Protestant Episcopal Church—viz.;—that every person who has been duly baptized has been made therein and thereby, a member of Christ's Body or Church. Hence the limits of the Holy Catholic Church are co-extensive with the company of all baptized persons throughout the world.[1] This much then is demonstrable. An objection is easily urged by the question, what constitutes valid

[1] We are fully aware that a very ingenious argument has been recently brought forward to offset this difficulty, viz:—that which contends that though *as individuals*, Protestants are members of the Catholic Church, their *organizations* have no right whatever to be considered as legitimate *parts* or *branches* of the same. This objection will be fully dealt with later on, though its irrelevance should be obvious.

Baptism? We will admit, say our opponents, that this Church as well as the mother Church of England, has officially affirmed that all validly baptized persons are members of the Church Catholic, but it does not necessarily follow from this that these so-called Baptisms are real Baptisms. If Baptism is a Sacrament, and if every Sacrament depends for its validity upon its administration at the hands of an Episcopally ordained Clergyman, it follows inevitably that there are no valid baptisms administered in non-Episcopal Churches so-called. Therefore, the Protestant bodies are no parts of the Catholic Church. Now we present this objection merely because it is the legitimate argument following upon the assumption that the Episcopate is essential to the validity of the Sacraments generally. As an actual fact, however, "Catholics" knowing only too well that the Church has unqualifiedly recognized the validity of Baptism administered in non-episcopal bodies, and even of Lay Baptism, do not (because they cannot), take this line of defence but with strange inconsistency admit that Lay Baptism is valid (hence that *individual* Protestants are all members of the Church) while simultaneously continuing to make the assertion that the Episcopate is *essential* to the validity of the Sacraments generally, and to *the very being of the Church. Note well the inconsistency!* When speaking *generally*, they sweepingly assert that Episcopacy is *essential* to the validity of the "*Sacraments*" (*plural*), hence essential to the validity of both the Holy Communion *and Baptism.*

When confronted, however, with the Church's *official* recognition of Lay Baptism, and their own admission that even *individual* Protestants are members of the Church Catholic (by virtue of their *valid* Baptism therein) they elastically adjust themselves to the new position so necessitated, *as if the point were of no consequence whatever.* (Whereas the tacit admission is actual surrender.) They quite as tenaciously hold on to what is left of the assertion, viz: that Episcopacy is essential to the validity of the Holy Communion, any way. From the fact that Baptism, and not the Holy Communion, is the Sacrament *of admission to membership in the Church Catholic,* and thus the only one that affects the question before us one way or another, what is left of the proposition is wholly irrelevant, even if it were true. As an actual matter of fact, *it is not even true. If Episcopacy is essential to the validity of the one Sacrament, it is essential to the other also—AND IF NOT —WHY NOT? LET US HAVE THE ANSWER.*

Not to anticipate matters which will be exhaustively discussed in the following chapters, and in order to pave the way to a better understanding of what is to follow, we will now proceed to substantiate our initial proposition regarding the Church's attitude toward the matter of Lay and Protestant Baptism. That both the Church of England, and our own Communion, have officially recognized the validity of Lay Baptism, and in actual practice have regularly admitted the Baptism of Protestant Ministers, generally, as valid, is so well known that it

would seem wholly unnecessary to cite evidence upon the subject, but in order that no step in the argument may be criticized as unsupported, and that from first to last it may be clearly seen that we appeal only to what has been set forth by AUTHORITY, we will address ourselves to the task.

Lay Baptism

"Yea, 'Baptism by *any* man in case of necessity,' was the voice of the whole world heretofore. Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Augustine, or any other of the ancients against it." (Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, bk. v., ch. lxi., 3.)

"The universal tradition and practice of the Church from the earliest ages has allowed the validity of Lay Baptism in cases of necessity, a rebaptism never being required for such persons. The question was fully discussed in the Church of Carthage with the above conclusion." (*Church Cyclopædia*, Art., Baptism.)

"The question of rebaptizing or otherwise was for the most part determined (in the early Church) simply by the question whether the *essential* elements of Baptism were wanting or no, viz., *water and the words prescribed* by our Lord. If these were employed the Baptism was regarded as valid, though irregular, and the person so baptized was admitted into Communion, if on other grounds found worthy, after imposition of the hands of the Bishop." (Smith, *Cheetham Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, vol. i., Art., Baptism.)

"This is clearly laid down by the Canon Law: A Priest is the ordinary minister of Baptism: the Baptism of women is forbidden except in the case of necessity: but even the Baptism of a Jew or a Pagan must not be reiterated. (Decret. pars iii. de Consecratione: de Baptismi Sacramento, xix., xx., xxiii.) And we must remember that the Canon Law, which in the Middle Ages was the Law of the Western Church, including the Church of England, has remained no less so since the Reformation, except where contrary to the Statute Law or the royal prerogative. The Legatine and Provincial Constitutions, made under the sanctions of Cardinal Otho and Othobon, the Pope's Legates, and by many Archbishops of Canterbury, are given in Lyndewood's Provinciale (A.D. 1679). The usage in case of necessity of Lay Baptism (men and women) is strictly enjoined. Priests are commanded to teach their parishioners the right Form of Baptism; and Archbishop Peccham censures certain foolish Priests (*Stolidi Sacerdotes*) who profaned by reiterating the Sacrament after Lay Baptism (Lyndewood, *De Baptismo et ejus Effectu*, lib. iii., tit. xxiv.)—Blunt's *Dict. Doc. and Hist. Theology*, Art., Lay Baptism.)

"Such Baptisms (*i.e.* administered by laymen) ***have always been held valid by the Church of England.***" (*Church Handy Dict.*, Art., Lay Baptism.)

"The Sarum Manual enjoined that each Parish Priest should often, on the Sunday, set forth to his parishioners the Form of Baptizing in order that, if

need be, *they* (*i.e.* the parishioners) might know how to baptize infants. . . . The Sarum Rubric permitted Lay Baptism in cases of necessity only." (*The Prayer Book Interleaved*, p. 189.)

Even the Council of Trent held the same view: "Si quis dixerit, baptismum, qui etiam datur ab hæreticis, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, cum intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, non esse verum baptismum: Anathema sit." (Conc. Trid., Sess. VII., Canon IV., De Baptismo.) ("If any man shall say that Baptism, even though it be administered by heretics, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, with the intention of doing what the Church does, is not true Baptism—Let him be Anathema.")

The principle thus laid down has been definitely stated from time to time by English Synods from a very early age; and the *Pupilla Oculi*, which was a standard book of instructions for the Clergy in the mediæval period, has some exhaustive statements on the subject which plainly show that it was the practice to recognize Baptism as valid by whomsoever administered if given with the proper matter and form of words; which practice undoubtedly continued up to the time of the Reformation. This is, at the same time, shown most clearly and authoritatively by the Rubric placed at the end of *Ritus Baptizandi* in the Salisbury Manual, which is as follows: (Here is appended, in Latin, the specific direction given by the Parish Priest to his parishioners, to be used *by them* in baptizing children, when

the services of a Priest can not be obtained. He continues)—"The substantial part of the above Rubric was retained in the Book of Common Prayer in the following words: "The Pastors and Curates shall oft admonish the people that they defer not. . . . And also they shall warn them that without great cause and necessity they baptize not children at home in their houses. And when great need shall compel them so to do, that then they minister it on this fashion. First, let them that be present call upon God for His Grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer. And then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words," etc. . . . "*And let them not doubt, but that the child so baptized is lawfully and sufficiently baptized. . . .*" (Blunt's Annot., *Book Com. Prayer*, p. 405.) This Rubric, introduced into the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1549), after the form of the Salisbury Manual, is repeated in the second Prayer Book of Edward (1552). It has thus been officially authorized three times by the Church of England since the Reformation (to say nothing of the official sanctions before that time), but in spite of this, because the wording of it was altered in the Revision of 1661, it has been supposed by some that the doctrinal teaching of the Church on this point was officially changed at that time. That this is not the case, however, can easily be demonstrated.

The same men who ordered the alteration of the wording of this Rubric in 1661, also asserted clearly

and emphatically that they had not done it with any intention of changing the *doctrinal teaching* of the Church on this point—that, in fact, of "all the sundry alterations proposed" they had "rejected all such as were of dangerous consequence (as secretly striking at some *established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholic Church of Christ*) . ." and that they did freely "profess to the world that the Book as it stood before established by law, *did not contain in it any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound doctrine,*" etc. (Preface, *Bk. Com. Prayer*, 1661). If then it can be demonstrated that the Church of England taught the legitimacy of Lay Baptism *before* 1661, and specifically so in this Rubric, and if in altering the wording of this Rubric, the Revisers themselves as specifically state again that the alteration was not made with the purpose of changing its *doctrinal* significance (viz.: the legitimacy of Lay Baptism), it follows inevitably that the Church of England *since* the year 1661 has continued to hold that doctrine. This in itself is conclusive, and should settle the question, if question it be. It may be of interest, however, to note the words of Blunt, himself a High Churchman. After noting that the words "one of them" in the former Rubric were changed to "lawful minister," he himself remarks: "These successive alterations have been supposed to narrow the theory of the Church of England respecting Baptism, and to restrict its valid administration to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. But although these

additions and alterations were probably made with the object of checking Lay Baptism, *it cannot be said that they contain any decision against their validity*; nor, indeed, can it be supposed, for a moment, that the prudent men who superintended the various revisions of the Prayer Book would have reversed, merely by a Rubric, the long established tenet of the Church of England that Lay Baptisms are in some cases necessary, and are not to be repeated." Moreover, he significantly adds, in comment on the expression "lawful minister": "It must not be forgotten that 'minister' in the Book of Common Prayer means '*executor officii*,' and that if it was used here in that sense, the addition of 'lawful' does not by any means of necessity restrict it to a clergyman. The '*alius minister ad hoc magis idoneus*' of the Rubric, given in the preceding note, shows that the word 'minister' *was used even of a Lay person* in the case of the ministration of Baptism long before the Reformation." (Annot., *Bk. Com. Pr.*, p. 405.) But while all this is true—and moreover a great admission for a High Churchman—yet it is all wholly unnecessary to establish our point. We have only to remember that the Church of England taught the legitimacy of Lay Baptism *prior* to 1661, specifically setting it forth in the Rubric above quoted. We have only to remember that the Revisers of 1661 have, in so many words, declared that *no doctrinal teaching of the Prayer Book prior to that year was affected in any way whatever by the amendments and alterations which they introduced.*

We have only to remember these facts, we say, to prove beyond all shadow of doubt that this continued to be the doctrinal teaching of the Church of England after the Restoration. Moreover, Blunt tells us that, "although there were supposed to be about 300,000 persons in England who had been baptized by Laymen at the time when the clergy were restored to their duties in 1661, no public provision was made by the Church for rebaptizing them, nor does it appear that any doubt whatever was thrown upon the validity of their baptisms by those who revised our Offices." (Annot., *Bk. Com. Pr.*, p. 405.) Finally, if there should still remain any doubt as to the teaching of the Church to-day, we have only to remind our readers of the generally acknowledged fact that no doctrinal alterations or changes of any importance whatever, have been made either in the Prayer Book or in any of the other formularies of the Church of England since 1661, and that, with regard to the very matter in question, the legitimacy of Lay Baptism *has twice been officially affirmed within the past one hundred years.* "The validity of Lay Baptism during the present century has been twice decided by the ecclesiastical courts of the English Church—in the Court of Arches in the case of Kemp *v.* Wickes (A.D. 1809), and in that of Martin *v.* Escott in the Arches Court and before the Judicial Committee (A.D. 1841). (Blunt's *Dict. of Doct. and Hist. Theology*, Art., Lay Baptism.) Add to this the official declaration of our own Communion that "this Church is far from intending to depart from the

Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship" (Preface to Prayer Book), and the well known fact that in actual practice we are accustomed to recognize the validity of Lay Baptism, to say nothing of the validity of the Baptisms performed by Protestant Ministers, and it will be easily seen that our contention is fully established. But, whatever may be our attitude toward the Ministers of other Protestant Churches, once admit that this Church recognizes the validity even of Lay Baptism, and officially recognizes again that all who are validly baptized are incorporated into the Body of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and it follows inevitably that this Church officially recognizes all Protestants as members of the Catholic Church. Hence, it is contrary to the *official* teaching both of the Church of England and of our own to affirm that the Holy Catholic Church is limited to those Congregations which are under the regimen of the Historic Episcopate, or that all non-episcopal, protestant bodies are excluded therefrom.

II

OFFICIAL DECLARATIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH CATHOLIC

HAVING now demonstrated our contention from the indirect evidence afforded by the official attitude of the Church on the matter of Lay Baptism, we will next proceed to establish it from the direct evidence of the Church's definitions of, and declarations concerning, the Church Catholic or Universal. That, *officially*, she has never limited her conception of the Catholic Church to those particular bodies organized under the government of the Historic Episcopate, as so many of her clergy are doing to-day in her name, but without her authority, will be clear from the following facts:

(1) In the "Prayer for all Conditions of Men," the English Church officially identifies the Church Catholic as co-extensive with "*all those who profess and call themselves Christians*," and as the number of those who do thus profess and call themselves Christians is not limited to those who are members of Episcopal Churches, but includes all Protestants, it follows that the Church here again, in this Prayer, officially recognizes all Protestants as members of

the Catholic Church. In the English Prayer Book the passage in question reads as follows: "More especially, we pray for the good estate of *the Catholick Church;* that it may be so guided and governed by Thy good Spirit, that *all who profess and call themselves Christians,* may be led into the way of Truth, and hold the Faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." In our own Prayer Book the first clause is changed slightly in its wording, but bears precisely the same import: "More especially we pray for Thy Holy Church Universal; that it may be so guided," etc. Note, moreover, that this Prayer was not issued until 1662. Hence it was the official expression of the Church on this subject *at the time of the Restoration.* As it is universally conceded that no doctrinal or other changes have crept in since that day, it is obvious that this continues to be the official view to-day.

(2) The same definition is again repeated in the Prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here in Earth." "Beseeching Thee to inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of Truth, unity, and concord: And grant that *all they who do confess Thy Holy Name,* may agree in the truth of Thy Holy Word, and live in unity and godly love." (Communion Office, Eng. Pr. Bk.) By referring to our own Prayer Book, it will be seen that the same Prayer with only a few unessential verbal alterations has been officially authorized. Still further on, in the same Office, we note: "The Mystical *Body of Thy Son, which is the blessed*

company of all faithful people." The wording is the same in both the American and English Prayer Books.

(3) Again, in a Prayer set forth by the Church (*circa* 1572) we read: "Be merciful (O Father of all mercies) to Thy *Church Universal* dispersed throughout the whole world: and grant that *all they that confess Thy Holy Name*, may agree in the truth of Thy Holy Word, and live in godly concord and unitie."

(4) Again, in the Bidding Prayer of the Church of England, published in the Canons of 1604 (Canon 55), and set forth by authority of Convocation, we find these words: "Ye shall pray for *Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world.*" If, still ignoring the plain and obvious meaning of all these official utterances, there are any yet ready to assert that the Church authoritatively supports their Tractarian theory that the Episcopate is absolutely essential to the existence of a true Church; if there are yet any who, in defiance of the above quotations, are disposed to maintain this, on the pretext that such expressions as "the congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world," or "the blessed company of all faithful people," were intended to refer only to those who were faithful to the true doctrine of the Church *and the Episcopate*, and who were, therefore, the only true "Christian people," we reply that this whole fine-spun hypothesis will be found to be completely shattered by a

little further examination of the evidence before us. For first of all, the statement, that "all who profess and call themselves Christians" are to be regarded as members of the Church Catholic, in itself contradicts this assumption. The further fact that all who have been baptized, whether by a valid ministry, or only by laymen, have been officially pronounced members of the Holy Catholic Church, places the attitude of the Church of England towards these non-episcopal bodies beyond all question. Besides all this, the possibility of any reasonable doubt as to the Church's position is absolutely eliminated by the fact that she has gone beyond these general statements, and in a number of other instances has *in so many words* recognized these non-episcopal congregations as true "Churches," and, together with the Greek, Roman, and her own communion, included them *by name* in the Holy Catholic or Universal Church. Thus, as early as 1550 the German Protestants in England were acknowledged as constituting a genuine branch of the Church. A patent was granted them by Edward VI. to protect them in their rights, "that by *the Ministers of the Church of the Germans, and other strangers*, a sound interpretation of the most Holy Gospels, and *the administration of the Sacraments according to the word of God and Apostolic customs may exist.*" Moreover, in the Bidding Prayer, set forth by authority in 1604—a portion of which we have just quoted, the *Church of Scotland* is specifically mentioned, *by name*, as a part of the Holy Catholic Church, which Church, at that time, was a

non-episcopal, *i. e.* Presbyterian body. The passage reads as follows: "Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole Congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, *Scotland*, and Ireland." (Canon 55.)[1] Again, we have a copy of a license issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Grindal) to one John Morrison a Presbyter of the Church of Scotland, permitting him to officiate without re-ordination in the Church of England, and assigning *as a reason* the validity of his Presbyterian ordination in "*the Reformed Church of Scotland*," to wit: "Since you, the aforesaid John Morrison . . . were admitted and ordained to sacred Orders and the Holy Ministry, by the imposition of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of *the Reformed Church of Scotland* . . . we, therefore, . . . *approving and ratifying the form of your Ordination and preferment done in such manner aforesaid*, grant to you a license and faculty, with the consent and express command of the most reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Edmund, by the Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury," etc. (License dated April 6, 1582. See full text of same in Strype's *Life of Archbishop Grindal.* Also cited by Goode and other authorities.) This is official recognition by the highest authority in the Church

[1] The assertion, sometimes met with in "Catholic" text-books, that the Church of Scotland here mentioned was not Presbyterian, is without foundation. The matter is fully discussed a few pages further on.

of England both of the integrity of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as a true branch of the Catholic Church, and of the consequent validity of its non-Episcopal ordinations. Moreover, we may here add, parenthetically, that this particular instance is only one of many, it being a fact well known to all historians (though strangely ignored and suppressed by High Churchmen) that the Church of England for more than a hundred years not only *officially* recognized the validity of the ordinations of such non-Episcopal Churches, but *habitually* admitted their Ministers to her own communion without re-ordination. This has been attested by Strype, Hall, Cosin, Burnet, Fleetwood, Keble, Hallam, Macaulay, and many others. Thus, Hallam tells us: "It had not been unusual from the very beginning of the Reformation to admit Ministers, ordained in foreign Churches, to benefices in England; no reordinaton had ever been practiced with respect to those who had received imposition of hands in a regular Church; and hence it appears that the Church of England, whatever tenet might have been broached in controversy, did not consider the ordination of Presbyters invalid." (*Constitutional History*, p. 224.) Says Macaulay, "The Church of Rome held that Episcopacy was of Divine institution, and that certain supernatural graces of a high order had been transmitted by the imposition of hands through fifty generations from the eleven who received their commission on the Galilean Mount to the Bishops who met in Trent. A large body of Protestants, on

the other hand, regarded Prelacy as positively unlawful, and persuaded themselves that they found a very different form of ecclesiastical government prescribed in Scripture. The founders of the Anglican Church took a middle course. They retained Episcopacy, *but they did not declare it to be an institution essential to the welfare of a Christian Society, or to the efficacy of the Sacraments.*" (*Hist.*, vol. i., chap. i.) "*Certainly it was her practice,*" declares Bishop Fleetwood, "*during the reigns of King James and Charles I.; and to the year 1661, we had MANY ministers from Scotland, from France, and the Low Countries, who were ordained by Presbyters only, and not by Bishops, and they were instituted into benefices with cure; and yet were never re-ordained,* but only subscribed the Articles." (*Works*, p. 552.) Nor, we may add, was this custom ever discontinued because wrong in PRINCIPLE or DOCTRINE, but as will be presently shown, because *practical* considerations rendered it highly *inexpedient.* After the overthrow of Episcopal Government in England during the days of Cromwell, it was deemed positively necessary in order to insure its stability in the future, that all Ministers coming into the Church from other denominations, should give evidence of good faith, by submitting to Episcopal Ordination, before being honored with benefice and cure. In fact, it was justly complained that it was hardly fair to allow men who were openly opposed to Episcopacy, and who declined to be ordained by Bishops, to be promoted to benefices in an Episcopal Church

and supported out of the pockets of a people who desired an Episcopal Government. Says Bishop Hall, "The sticking at the admission of our brethren, returning from foreign Reformed Churches was NOT in the case of ORDINATION, but of INSTITUTION; *they had been acknowledged Ministers of Christ without any other hands laid on them;* but according to the laws of our land, they were not capable of INSTITUTION TO BENEFICE, unless they were so qualified as the statutes of this realm doth require. And secondly, I know those, *more than one*, that by virtue of that ordination, which they have brought with them from other Reformed Churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings without any exceptions against the lawfulness of their callings." (*Works*, vol. x., p. 341.) So also Macaulay, "Episcopal ordination was now (1662) *for the first time*, made an indispensable qualification for PREFERMENT." (*Hist.*, vol. i., p. 132.) But we shall produce abundant evidence a little later on as to this. For the present we merely desire to emphasize the fact that for more than one hundred years it was the regular custom of the Church of England to admit non-episcopally ordained Ministers to officiate, and to hold office and benefice, in her Communion, and that when the custom was discontinued, it was for practical considerations only, no doctrinal principle being involved. She still continued to recognize the VALIDITY of Presbyterian Ordination. As a recent writer—the late Dr. Chas. A. Briggs, has said: "It is an historical absurdity for members of the Church of

England and of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, to deny the validity of Presbyterial ordination, which was recognized as you show and as is well known to all historians, by the fathers and founders of the Church of England." But the weightiest evidence of all comes from the pen of one whom our "Catholic" brethren cannot afford to discredit. No name is held in greater reverence among them than that of John Keble—one of the leaders of the Tractarian movement—and yet no man more candidly though reluctantly admits the truth of this assertion. It is a subject of deep regret with him that the Church of England ever assumed such a position or officially sanctioned such a practice, but that she did do so, he does not hesitate honestly and squarely to admit in his Preface to Hooker's Works affirming that it is "*notorious*" that the extreme Episcopal claims advocated by his party were not maintained by the Reformers, and that "*numbers* had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination." (P. lxxvi.) It is hardly necessary to add to this fact, what is but a necessary corollary therefrom, that the official recognition of the validity of the ordinations of these non-episcopal bodies is synonymous with the recognition of these bodies themselves as true "*Churches.*" As no doctrinal position of the Church of England on this or any other matter was ever subsequently changed, if the words of later Revisers (especially the Revisers of 1661) are to be relied upon at all, it is a foregone

conclusion that the Church is officially bound to this position to-day. To return to our citation of facts, the Church of England in the year 1580, again officially set forth a prayer in which intercession was made in behalf of "the *Churches* of France, Flanders, and of such other places as were then suffering persecution." (Proctor's *Hist. Book of Common Prayer*, p. 479, Note.) A similar prayer set forth in 1590, just ten years later, beseeches that "forasmuch as Thou hast promised to maintain and defend the cause of *Thy Church* . . . protect and strengthen Thy Servants our brethren *in France* that are now ready to fight for the glory of Thy Name . . . so shall that proud generation have no cause to insult over *Thy true Church*," etc. Again, Canon 30 (1604) asserts that it was not the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject (*per omnia recedere*) *the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany*, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised," etc.,—a statement which while implying the disagreement of the Church of England upon certain points both with the Church of Rome and the above named Protestant Churches, none the less recognizes all of them as "*Churches*." In a celebrated work entitled *Synopsis Papismi*, which though written by an individual clergyman of the Church of England only, *was afterwards set forth by authority of the Church herself as expressing her official views*, a number of the non-episcopal Protestant bodies are recognized *by name* as true Churches and the validity of their ministries endorsed. To

quote: "*Neither is it true that there are no Ministers but by the ordination of Bishops, for this were to condemn all those Reformed Churches of Helvetia, Belgia, Geneva, with others which have not received this form of Ecclesiastical Government . . . so that we doubt not but that all the Reformed Churches professing the Gospel have true and lawful ministers, though they observe not all the same manner in the election and ordaining them. And this is the general consent of the Churches themselves.*" (*Synop. Papismi*, vol. vi., p. 368.) Let the reader note well that this is not merely the opinion of the author, Dr. Willet, but of the Church, for the entire work containing this statement was issued "*by the authority of His Majesty's royal letters-patent,*" and was further "*seen and allowed by the Lords the Reverend Bishops, and hath also ever been in great esteem in both Universities*; and also much desired by all the learned, both of our Clergy and Laity, throughout our dominions." Again, the Church of England *officially endorsed* the statement of Dr. Richard Cosin in his answer to the Puritan work entitled, An Abstract on Certain Acts of Parliament, that differences merely in the form of government did not impugn the integrity of "the Churches of Denmark, Sweveland, Poland, Germany, Rhetia, Vallis, Tellina, the nine Cantons of Switzerland reformed, with their confederates of Geneva, of France, of the Low Countries, and of Scotland." Like the former, this work was also endorsed by the Church herself—"*published by authority.*" (*Vide* "An Answer to an Abstract," etc.,

1584, p. 58. Quoted in Goode's *Work on Orders.*) Again, in a work which was "perused and *by lawful authority of the Church of England* allowed to be public," the said Church officially recognized "*all the neighbor churches christianly reformed,*"—referring to the *non*-episcopal bodies on the Continent. This work—*Exposition of the Articles,* by Thomas Rogers, thus officially endorsed, Archbishop Bancroft "ordered all the Parishes in his Province to supply themselves with"—a fact which further proves that even the High Churchmen of that day (for Bancroft was one of the most conspicuous) did not attempt to defend the extreme principles that are advocated to-day.

Note

Since the above was written, our attention has been called to a criticism which is occasionally made by "Catholics" in regard to the statement that the Church of Scotland, referred to in the Bidding Prayer of 1604, was Presbyterian. A recent writer in the *Living Church* (Jan. 31, 1914, p. 473) commenting upon a statement made by the Dean of Worcester (Dr. Ede) to the same effect, asserts with great confidence that this allegation "has been shown over and over again to be nothing but a fiction, and a vulgar error." He declares that "in the year 1600 'the Presbyterian form of government was abolished by the King' (and that) Presbyterianism was not established until 1696, nearly a century later than the date of the Canon. James I. of England had created in 1600 (he means, of course, when King of Scotland only) nine dioceses in Scotland, and appointed Bishops to them; these Bishops were given seats as such by the Parliament of Scotland. . . . The Church set up by the King, and not the Presbyterian body is the Church referred to in the Bidding Prayer." Now if this is true, if Episcopal Government was established in Scotland in 1600, and the Bidding Prayer of 1604 referred to this Episcopal Church, and if the Church of Scotland continued to be Episcopal, and "Presbyterianism was not established until

1696, nearly a century later than the date of the Canon," we should like to ask this plain question: *Why, then, was it necessary to consecrate Bishops for Scotland in 1610?* What had become of the Episcopacy which the King had established just ten years before (in 1600), and for whose preservation the English Church had authorized the prayer in question only *six* years before—*especially if this Episcopacy was not overthrown, nor Presbyterianism established, until 1696?* The truth of the matter is, there is no warrant for this assertion, for it is a fact well known to historians, and admitted by one of the ablest exponents of High Church principles (John Henry Blunt), that the *attempt* of the King here cited was unsuccessful. Though he made appointments for the office of the Bishopric, his appointees *were never consecrated,* nor did the Church of Scotland ever admit that they possessed any spiritual authority. Parliament, indeed, assisted the King in *the attempt,* and despite the opposition of the Kirk, gave them seats, but for all that, *the Kirk refused to recognize their Episcopal authority,* they exercised no Episcopal functions, and could not, in the very nature of things, attempt to do so *as they were never consecrated.* If they had been consecrated in 1600, and exercising authority in 1604, as the writer implies, there would never have been any further consecration in 1610. It was because these so-called Bishops were *not* Bishops *in reality, had never had consecration, had never exercised spiritual authority,* nor had the Kirk consented to Episcopal government until 1610, that for that very reason it became necessary in that year (when her consent *was* finally obtained) that such consecration should be bestowed. It is ridiculous, therefore, to talk about the Bidding Prayer of 1604 referring to an Episcopal Church in Scotland, for the only Episcopal Church existing there at that time was one that *officially* denounced Episcopacy, and the only Bishops there, were men who had never been consecrated by any Bishop whatever. Moreover, we know that James himself admitted that his mere *appointment* did not constitute these men Bishops, and it is notorious that they were ever referred to derisively as "Tulchan Bishops," a vulgar expression for "dummies." In 1604, then, the year in which the Bidding Prayer was set forth, the Church of Scotland was not only Presbyterian, but *militantly* so, in defiance of the King. Yet it was formally admitted by the Church of England *even at that time* (when prejudice was so strong) *to be a true part of the Holy Catholic Church.*

As the whole history of this contest between James and the Church

of Scotland throws light on some other matters relative to the main point of this discussion, it will not be amiss to go into it a little further, and in doing so, we shall quote extensively from this same well known High Churchman, to whom we have referred and whose opinions are of great weight with "Catholics." Says John Henry Blunt: "The peculiar course which the Reformation took in Scotland was in nothing more strange than in its results as to the episcopate. Some of the old Bishops turned with the times, and either retained the revenues of their Sees, as did Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, and Earl of Lennox, or made over these revenues to some of their relatives, as did Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway: *in both cases ceasing to exercise the episcopal office although retaining the episcopal title.* As these old Bishops *died off*, *nominal* successors were sometimes appointed by the Crown, or the Regents acting in the name of the Crown; and thus there were *titular* Bishops of ancient Sees *who were never consecrated nor even in Priests' Orders.* (They were shrewdly named *'Tulchane Bishops'* a 'Tulchane' or 'Tulchin' being a stuffed calf's skin set up in sight of a cow to persuade her to give her milk.) This continuance of a *nominal* Episcopate, side by side with *the Presbyterian establishment* (mark the words) was much favoured by the Court party, but it is difficult to say whether from reasons of self-interest as regarded the ancient revenues of the Sees, or in the hope that the *shadow* of an episcopate *might some day be turned into a reality.*" "When the Young King James VI. became nominally independent, though only twelve years of age, in 1578, the General Assembly of preachers took much bolder action in respect to these *titular* Bishops than they had ventured to take while a strong-minded nobleman was Regent. Meeting at Dundee in July, 1579, they first passed an 'ordinance' *declaring that the office of Bishop had no warrant in the Word of God.* . . . After this, in 1580, they issued the "National Covenant," previously referred to, by which *'the government of the Kirk by Bishops'* . . . is *'declared to be unlawful within this Kirk.'* . . . This opposition of the Presbyterian faction to the free action of the Crown . . . gave James a lasting hatred of Presbyterianism . . . and when he succeeded to the Crown of England he took measures for grafting a *true* Episcopate upon the Kirk, evidently with the view of *gradually* assimilating the ecclesiastical system of Scotland to that of England. In this purpose the King was probably supported by a strong anti-revolutionary party in Scotland: for in the year *1606* the Scottish Parliament

passed an Act *'for the restitution of Bishops.'* [Note—this was *two years after* Canon 55, the Bidding Prayer, was passed, was an Act of Parliament only, and did *not* alter the attitude of the Kirk.] The purpose of this act was that of enabling the Crown to restore to the titular Bishops such portions of the Estates of their respective Sees as still remained in its hands. In the same year (1606) James *endeavored* to pave the way for the restoration of Episcopal Authority by proposing to the General Assembly that the titular Bishops should act as *Moderators* or *Presidents* in the Presbyteries within their Dioceses, thus giving them much more power in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. This proposition was, after some resistance, adopted by the Assembly, and put in practice throughout the Kirk. (*Even at this date*, let it be noticed, the end was not attained. The King's appointees were merely permitted to occupy the *Presbyterian* office of *'Moderators.' They were not recognized as Bishops either by the Kirk or the King, and could not be so recognized for the very plain reason that they had never been Consecrated Bishops.*) After this the King frequently urged the 'Bishops' to take on themselves the administration of all Church affairs, and *as they were unwilling to do so* without the consent of the Ministers, an Assembly was at last called to consider the question *in June, 1610. . . . At this Assembly nine resolutions were assented to which practically established the jurisdiction of the Crown and the Bishops.* . . . The jurisdiction of the Episcopate being thus restored, James I. prepared to restore it to its proper *spiritual* position *by having some of the titular Bishops consecrated.* Accordingly, John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow, Andrew Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, and William Couper, Bishop of Galloway, were summoned to London, where the King told them that he had restored the revenues of the Bishoprics, and had appointed worthy men; but (note the following words) that *as he could not make them Bishops, nor could they make themselves so, he had called them to England that they might be consecrated*, and that being thus made *true* Bishops instead of mere titular ones, they might return to Scotland and consecrate the rest." It will be seen now from this account, given by one of the greatest authorities among High Churchmen, that the statements of Mr. Hall are absolutely without foundation. No Bishops were consecrated for Scotland or established over the Church of Scotland *until 1610, ten years after* the date he alleges, and *six years after* the Bidding Prayer was authorized. Even the *"jurisdiction* of the Episcopate" was not admitted, according to Blunt, until

the year 1610, and no attempt to *consecrate* Bishops, until their lawful jurisdiction within the Church had been established. In short, it was not till 1606—*two years after* the Bidding Prayer had been authorized—that the Scottish *Parliament* even yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon it and passed an Act "for the *restitution* of Bishops" (the very wording of the title betraying the fact that Bishops had *not been restored at that time*) and even then *the Kirk* held out against the measure, nor did it finally surrender until *June, 1610, four years later*, when it finally assented to the "Nine Resolutions." After the action of the Scottish Parliament in 1606, James succeeded in getting the Kirk to allow his appointees to preside over their Assemblies, but aside from the fact that this again was *two years after* the Prayer in question was authorized, and so can affect our argument in no way whatever, aside from all this, we repeat, it was even then with the distinct understanding that they were "*Moderators*" or Presidents in the Presbyteries only. This was a strictly Presbyterian arrangement, nor did James or any one else in England flatter themselves that this concession meant an Episcopal form of Government for the Church. They well knew, and the King admitted, as we have seen, in so many words, that they were not Bishops, for they had never been consecrated, and could not, therefore, in the very nature of things, presume to exercise episcopal functions. They were simple Presbyters presiding as Presbyterian "Moderators" over a strictly Presbyterian Church. *There was no Episcopal Church in Scotland, then, before 1610*, and the petition in the Bidding Prayer of 1604 was for the *Presbyterian* Church of Scotland.

Moreover, what is thus admitted by so prejudiced an authority as Blunt, is of course corroborated by numbers of other writers not so hostile to the cause of Presbyterianism. We need mention only one of these. Neale, in his *History of the Puritans* tells us that, "In the year 1580, the General Assembly with one voice declared Diocesan Episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. The same year King James, with his family, and the whole nation, subscribed a Confession of Faith, with a solemn league and covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant doctrine and *the Presbyterian* Government. After this the Bishops were restored *by Parliament* to some parts of their ancient dignity; and it was made treason for any man to procure the innovation or diminution of the power and authority of any of the three estates; but when this Act was proclaimed, *the Ministers protested against it, as not having been*

agreed to by the Kirk. In the year 1587, things took another turn, and his Majesty being at the full age of twenty-one, consented to an Act to take away the Bishops' lands and annex them to the crown. In the year 1590 it was ordained by the General Assembly that all that bore office in the Kirk, or should hereafter do so, should subscribe to the Book of Discipline. In the year 1592, all Acts of Parliament whatsoever made by the King's Highness, or any of his predecessors, in favor of Popery *or Episcopacy*, were annulled; and, in particular, the Act of May 22, 1584, 'For granting commissions to Bishops or other ecclesiastical judges, to receive presentations to benefices, and give collations thereupon.' *This act, for the greater solemnity, was confirmed again in 1593, and again this present year (1594), so that from this time to 1610, Presbytery was undoubtedly the legal establishment of the Kirk of Scotland, as it had been in fact ever since the Reformation."* (*Id.*, vol. i., pp. 294, 295.) These facts effectually dispose of the objection in question. They also lead us to speak of another matter of even more vital import to our argument.

It is a very significant fact, though one that is not generally known, that even in the transaction of 1610, whereby the Kirk was finally induced to consent to Episcopal Government, such consent was only obtained after the Church of England had formally agreed that the Episcopacy to be established should be modelled after that particular conception of the Episcopate which *many* Presbyterians had all along regarded as *admissible* (though, for practical considerations *unadvisable*), and had further *officially acknowledged* the *essential validity of Presbyterian ordination as such*,—admissions which, it will readily be seen, are fatal to the "catholic" theory of the Episcopate, and their further contention that that theory represents the *official* view of the Church. In order to understand what is meant by such a conception of the Episcopate, we have only to remind our readers that the Presbyterians did not deny that in the beginning a *Presiding Elder* or *Presbyter*, commonly called a Bishop, presided over the meetings of his brother Presbyters in the capacity of a *"Moderator"* or *Chairman* of the Assembly. They only denied that such Bishops, as referred to in the New Testament, and in the early Church, were any thing *more* than *Chairmen* or *Moderators*. They denied that they were a separate *"Order" over and above the Presbyterate*, possessing peculiar and inherent powers. They denied that they could act in any official capacity in independence of the Presbytery, or exercise any power not *delegated* to them by the same, and that in the

matter of *ordination* specifically, the sovereign power being resident in the Presbyters as a body, the Bishop only conducted the ceremony, being always assisted by certain of his fellow Presbyters, and both of them merely *exercising* a power *delegated* to them by "*the ordaining Presbytery.*" What they feared in the Church of England was the tendency to overstep the bounds of this primitive arrangement. They claimed that the "*Prelacy*" of the Church of England was not truly representative of primitive *Episcopacy;* that too much governing power had already been placed in the hands of the Bishops, and that although the Church herself, had not, indeed, asserted that the Episcopate was a separate "Order" from the Presbyterate, yet that *individual* utterances were beginning to be heard to that effect, and there was positive danger that such a theory would eventually be maintained, a presentiment which, as we now see, was too well founded. In view of such a menace, Scotchmen resisted the idea of Episcopacy to the last, and when forced to yield, they did so only after the Church of England *had given official assurance that such a conception of the Episcopate as they were willing to recognize, and such a pattern only, would be established.* Nor, in acceding to this demand, did the Church of England in any way stultify her *official* position, for as we have seen (contrary to the opinions of our "catholic" friends) the Church of England, *as a Church, i.e. officially, has never endorsed this exclusive view of the Episcopate at any time, either before or since that date.* Accordingly, when the Nine Resolutions, forming the basis of the union, were drawn up in June, 1610, it was explicitly agreed to by the Church of England that when the so-called "titular" Bishops, appointed by the King, should have been duly consecrated, they were to be recognized as "*Moderators*" of the various Presbyteries within their jurisdiction, and that, while all ordinations were to be placed "*substantially*" in their hands, it was only in the sense that they were the heads, or representatives of "*THE ORDAINING PRESBYTERY,*" and that no ordinations were to be consummated by them *alone,* but only with the consent of the Presbytery, and with *the actual co-operation of Presbyters in the ordaining act.* We have clear evidence of this from a number of authorities, among them again being the unwilling witness, John Henry Blunt. In recording the details of the transaction, he tells us that "(2) The titular Bishops being *ex officio Moderators* of all Presbyteries within their Dioceses, Ordinations of Ministers were placed, *substantially* in their hands as the head of *THE ORDAIN-*

ING PRESBYTERY." (*Dict. Sects, Heresies*, etc., Art. "Scottish Kirk," p. 544.) To the same effect is the testimony of Calderwood who, in citing the Article on Ordination, quotes what is apparently the exact language of the original—that the Bishop "*being assisted by some such of the Ministers of the bounds where he is to serve*, as he will assume to himself, *he is then to perfyte the whole act of ordination.*" (*Hist. Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 100.) Spottiswoode also gives like testimony (*vide, Hist. Ch. Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 211.) We may also, in this connection, and as evidence of the complete subjection of the Bishops to the authority of the Assembly, cite the further testimony of Lawson that "Bishops were to be subjected 'in all things concerning their life, conversation, office and benefice to the censure of the General Assembly, and if found guilty to be deposed by advice and consent of the King.'" (*Epis. Ch. of Scotland.*)

Finally, not only were these the terms of the agreement between the two Churches, but when the actual Consecration of the Scottish Bishops was consummated, the same year, it was carried out in complete accordance with the conditions thus laid down. In the conference of the English Bishops, preliminary to the act of Consecration, the question of the validity of the prior Presbyterian ordination of the candidates, was actually raised by Bishop Andrews, as a necessary consideration before Episcopal Consecration could be conferred, and the opinion was then formally and *unanimously* rendered that *such ordination was valid*, and it was *in accordance with this OFFICIAL Decision of the Church of Enlgand (which she had already pledged in the Nine Resolutions of Agreement) that THE EPISCOPATE WAS CONFERRED.* Says Spottiswoode himself (one of the very candidates in question whose testimony for that reason cannot be gainsaid), "a question in the meantime was moved by Dr. Andrews Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish Bishops, who, as he said, 'must first be ordained Presbyters, as having received no ordination from a Bishop.' The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained '*that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the Presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the reformed Churches.' This applauded to by the other Bishops*, Ely acquiesced, and at the day, and in the place appointed the three Scottish Bishops were consecrated." (*Hist. Ch. Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 209.) The above incident is too often quoted, and too generally

admitted as a fact, to need to be substantiated by any additional quotations, but it is interesting to note that High Churchmen like Russell, the biographer of Spottiswoode, and John Henry Blunt, while freely admitting that this was the position assumed by the Bishops of the English Church, acting officially, in the name of the Church, *condemn the act as illegal, if not invalid.* Their very criticism, therefore, is at once a candid admission of all that we are here contending for (viz.: that the Church of England did then and there *officially recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination* in one of the most important events of her ecclesiastical history), and that their own confessed attitude toward the measure (which is simultaneously the attitude of "Catholics" to-day) *is self-evident proof that the position of both, so far from representing the authoritative view of the Church of Enlgand, as they would fain contend, is in irreconcilable conflict therewith.* Not only, then, was *official* recognition of the validity of Presbyterian ordination openly and unqualifiedly given in the year 1610, and the *essential* principle of the Presbyterian discipline left undisturbed, but it is further to be noted that even in 1662 when, after the downfall of the Episcopal Church during the Interregnum, Episcopacy was again restored, the terms of its re-establishment in Scotland were precisely the same. Once more, even as in 1610, there was great opposition made to it, as the Scottish people generally, were never really in favour of it, but again, as in the former period, they were won over by the assurance that no *essential* change in their discipline was contemplated, as the Church of England had given *official* assurance that a moderate Episcopacy only would be established, one that did not deny the inherent power of Presbyters to ordain, or invalidate in any sense the former Ministry or Discipline of the Kirk. Thus, we find Archbishop Leighton himself, justifying and explaining the measure at that very time, to the people of Scotland, in a work entitled—*A Modest Defence of "Moderate" Episcopacy, As established in Scotland at the Restoration of King Charles II.* He says, "Episcopal Government, managed *in conjunction with Presbyters, Presbyteries, and Synods,* is not contrary to the rule of Scripture," etc. . . *"is not contrary to that new Covenant,* which is pretended by so many as the main, if not the only reason of their scrupling. . . . And, as both these assertions, I believe, upon the exactest (if impartial and dispassionate) inquiry, will be found to be in themselves true, so they are owned by the generality of the Presbyteries in England, as themselves have pub-

lished their opinions in print, with this title, *Two Papers of Proposals, Humbly presented to His Majesty, by the Reverend Ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion*—Printed at London, anno 1661. Besides other passages in these papers to the same purpose, in p. 11 and 12, are these words: 'And as these are our general ends and motives, so we are induced to insist upon the form of a synodical government, conjunct with a fixed presidency or Episcopacy for these reasons: . . . . *That the prelacy disclaimed in that Covenant was the engrossing the SOLE power of ORDINATION and jurisdiction, and exercising the WHOLE discipline, absolutely by Bishops themselves, and their delegates, Chancellors, Surrogates, and officials, etc., excluding wholly the PASTORS of particular Churches from all share in it.*' And there is one of prime note amongst them, who, in a large treatise of Church Government, does clearly evidence, that this was the mind both *of the Parliament of England*, and of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as they themselves did expressly declare it in the admitting of the Covenant, '*That they understood it not to be against ALL Episcopacy, but only against that particular frame*, as it is worded in the article itself.' (Baxter on *Church Government*, p. 111. C. l. tit., p. 275. 'An Episcopacy desirable for the reformation, preservation, and peace of the Churches, a fixed president, *durante vita*.' See p. 297, 330, *ibid.*). . . . That this difference should arise to a great height, may seem somewhat strange to any man that calmly considers, that there is in this Church *no change at all, neither in the doctrine nor worship*; *no, nor in the substance of the DISCIPLINE ITSELF*. But when it falls on matter easily inflammable, a little spark how great a fire it will kindle! . . . . II. When the house of Lords took the Covenant, Mr. Thomas Coleman that gave it them, did so explain it, and profess that it was not their intent to covenant against ALL Episcopacy; and upon this explication it was taken; and certainly the Parliament was most capable of giving the true sense of it, seeing that it was they that did impose it. . . . That very scruple was made by some members of Parliament, and resolved, with consent of their brethren in Scotland, *that the Covenant was only intended against PRELACY as it was then in being in England, leaving a latitude for Episcopacy, etc.*" (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 546 *et seq.*) Moreover, to all this evidence, must be added the further fact that in the very first Ordinal set forth for the use of the new Episcopal Church of Scotland in 1620, following the teaching of Cranmer and all the Elizabethan Reformers after him, following

what had been then, and was at this time (1629) the OFFICIAL view of the Church of England herself, it was distinctly asserted that there were but TWO ORDERS ONLY (in the technical sense of the word) in the Ministry of Christ's Church, viz.:—(1) *Bishops (or Presbyters);* and (2) *Ministers (or Deacons)*— See Proctor's *Hist. Book of Com. Prayer*, p. 94.

In conclusion, then, we may affirm that it is perfectly evident from the above that whatever may have been the tendency at that time toward an exclusive theory of the Episcopate, a tendency which doubtless justified the fear of "prelacy" so called, it is absolutely certain that this tendency was a movement advocated by *individuals* only. It never had the *authoritative* sanction of the Church. In short, it is absolutely certain that both in her OFFICIAL teachings, as well as in her *official* dealings with the Scottish Kirk, the Church of England then stood squarely and unqualifiedly for a moderate view of Episcopacy only—for that view of the Episcopate, in other words, taught by the Reformers and reasserted, time and again, in her public acts and formularies throughout the trying period of the Reformation. *Nor is there a shred of evidence to justify the supposition that what was then official doctrine has now ceased to be official.* Aside from the fact that there is no evidence whatever of this, such a supposition implies that the present constitution of the Church of England, instead of dating from the days of the Reformation, as is universally acknowledged by friend and foe alike, dates from some period *subsequent* to the Restoration of 1662, a proposition which does not deserve consideration. If then the "Catholic" theory of the Episcopate and of the Church (which depends upon it as a corollary) is so diametrically opposed to this official view of the Church of England in the seventeenth century, it follows that it is equally irreconcilable with the *official* teaching of that Church to-day and this, no matter how popular "catholic" principles may be with a great portion of the Clergy and Laity of the Church, or how many volumes defending such principles may be falsely set forth *in the name* of that Church. *Such pretensions cannot possibly change the facts.*

We may summarize this portion of the argument then as follows: The Church of England in the seventeenth century, acting in her official capacity, made the following clear and specific admissions,—1st. She admitted the validity of the former Presbyterial ordinations of the Kirk; 2d. She formally conceded the demand of the Kirk that from henceforth "ordinations of ministers were placed,

substantially, in their (the Bishops') hands as the head of *the ordaining Presbytery only.*" (Resolution 2). 3d. In the first Ordinal designed for the use of this new Episcopal Church in 1620, officially "adopted by the Bishops," she repeated the declaration so often made by Cranmer and the English Reformers generally that there were but *two* Orders only in the Ministry, viz.:—"Bishops (or Presbyters) and Ministers" (*i.e.* Deacons), Proctor's *Hist. Bk. Com. Prayer*, p. 94. Note. Blunt's *Dict. Heresies*, etc., p. 545. These facts are, of course fatal to the whole "catholic" conception of the Episcopate as in any sense representing the *official* view of the Church of England, and the surprising thing is that they are not better known especially when even such a well-known authority as Blunt in his *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, a work as popular as it is scholarly, distinctly tells us (p. 566) that "*it was not till the close of the Sixteenth Century, that the distinction between the Orders of Bishops and Priests was asserted*" even. This statement is unquestionably true. The only trouble with it is that it is not *the whole* truth, for even then it was asserted by *individuals* only, and not by the Church as such. Nor, as we propose to show, has it ever been asserted by the Church as such, but is even to this day an *unofficial* assertion only of *individual* Churchmen of so-called "catholic" tendencies. Even in 1620, as we have just seen, the Church reasserted the view of the Reformers that Bishops and Presbyters were one and the same Order, as her official opinion, and we have only to turn to so late a work as the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Article "Order," p. 844, to find these words: "The Church of England expressly recognizes the Diaconate and the Priesthood, *but no others*, as distinct Orders," thus amply vindicating our contention that the official view of the Church to-day is the same as it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the Revisers of 1662 distinctly state in the Preface of their Prayer Book, *no alteration in any doctrine* was made by them. Thus the official doctrine of the Church in regard to the Episcopate, even as in regard to all other matters, is exactly the same to-day as it was in the days of Elizabeth. We shall speak more particularly of this matter in a subsequent chapter. For the present we merely desire to mention it, and to emphasize the fact that these objections are fatal to "catholic" conceptions of the official teaching of the Church of England on the subject of the validity of Presbyterian ordinations, and the integrity of Presbyterian bodies as true parts of the Holy Catholic Church.

III

OTHER DECLARATIONS, OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL

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IT will be observed that the foregoing evidence has all been gathered from *official* declarations of the Church of England herself or from acts and utterances *officially endorsed* by her. We have purposely refrained from quoting any passages of a private nature, even from the works of the very highest authorities in the Church which have not been formally endorsed by the Church herself, acting in her official capacity. If now we should go further and attempt to supplement these with all the private opinions expressed by individual churchmen who lived contemporaneously with these official declarations, we should swell this essay to an inordinate length. Numberless quotations of this kind might be adduced. Practically all the Reformers and nearly all the divines of prominence in the English Church from the days of Cranmer down to within very recent times, who have touched upon the matter at all, have recognized the non-episcopal bodies as true parts of the Catholic Church, and their non-episcopally ordained ministers as having

been *validly*, even if *irregularly*, ordained. The list of those who have in one way or another expressed these opinions includes such names as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Jewel, Bradford, Whitgift, Philpot, Pilkington, Whittaker, Fulke, Willet, Bilson, Sutcliffe, Calfhill, Hooker, Saravia, Mason, Babington, Bridges, Field, Davenant, Francis White, Thomas White, Bancroft, Cosin, Burnet, Andrews, Rainolds, Bramhall, Usher, Hall, Downham, Stillingfleet, Secker, Wake, Tomline, and numbers of others.[1] It is not until the days of the Restoration that there is any apparent change of sentiment on the subject, but even then, it is only an opinion of *individuals*, and never affects the *official* attitude of the Church herself, which attitude has continued unchanged from the days of the Reformation downwards. It is quite true that men like Archbishop Laud, in their zeal to rid the Church of that Puritanism that had wellnigh overthrown episcopal authority in England, did many things and said many things which, looked at on the surface, appear to countenance many practices and teachings of our "Catholic" friends to-day. But whatever these men may have *wanted* to do in the way of altering the *official* teaching of the Church, we must ever be careful to distinguish between what they *tried* to accomplish, and what they

[1] Those who desire to see some of the evidence submitted by these writers are referred to Goode's work *On Orders*; *The True Historic Episcopate*, by Mason Gallagher; and a little work by the Author entitled, *Apostolic Succession and the Problem of Unity*, University Press, Sewanee, Tenn.

actually did accomplish—two wholly different things. That the *official* attitude of the Church toward these non-episcopal bodies and the validity of their ministries was actually changed at the time of the Restoration *is a fiction pure and simple which has not one shred of evidence to support it*, as we now propose to show. To begin with, there is no clear evidence that even the High Churchmen of this period (*i. e.* prior to the year 1661) held, even as individuals, the *extreme* opinions entertained subsequently by the Tractarians, and by our "Catholic" brethren to-day, on the subject of the Episcopate. Laud is the only one of prominence that appears at times to have favoured these views, but if he is to be judged *by his own words*, even he did not go to the extent of absolutely "unchurching" the non-episcopal bodies, as the Tractarians did, and as the "Catholic" party now proposes to do. "I have endeavored to unite the Calvinists and Lutherans," says he, "nor have I *absolutely unchurched them.* I say indeed in my book against Fisher, according to St. Jerome, No Bishop, no Church; and that none but a Bishop can ordain, *except in cases of inevitable necessity;* and whether that be the case in the foreign Churches, the world may judge." (Reply to Fisher, q. Gallagher, *Prim. Eirenicon*, p. 188.) Here then is the worst that can be said—here are the words of the most extreme High Churchman of his day—the man who is popularly supposed to have inaugurated a fundamental, doctrinal change in the official view of the Church,—yet even he admits that "*in cases*

of inevitable necessity" non-episcopal ordination is legitimate, and adds that in the case of the non-episcopal bodies of his day, the world might judge whether such necessity existed or not, but for his own part he did *not* absolutely unchurch them. If these words mean anything at all then, it will be seen that our "catholic" brethren cannot legitimately claim even Archbishop Laud in support of their extreme attitude toward the non-episcopal bodies, for unlike them, he admitted the possibility of non-episcopal ordinations as being valid under some circumstances. He said distinctly that he would not assume the responsibility of "unchurching" them, the very thing that our "catholic" friends have not scrupled to do. Whatever else he may have said and done, then, *they cannot claim that he excluded these bodies from the Catholic Church.* If then such an extreme partisan of Episcopacy as Archbishop Laud could not bring himself to assume such an attitude, and yet if even he could be so harsh in the denunciation of these bodies as to cause himself to be publicly "reproved" by the University of Oxford for his radical utterances, how in the name of reason can it be imagined that the authorities of the Church who thus reproved him, went to such an extreme? The truth is, there is no evidence that even the most extreme churchmen of this period ever went so far as positively to "unchurch" these bodies, as so many of their successors are doing to-day. It is quite certain that the Church as a body, *i.e.*, *officially*, never presumed to do so. Speaking of individuals'

opinions only, however, we repeat that if even Archbishop Laud himself did not hold such views, it is very improbable that any other churchman of prominence did so. Bancroft, for example, certainly took high ground on the matter of Episcopacy—such high ground that he, too, like Laud, was attacked as an extremist. Yet even he never went the length of the Tractarians or of the "Catholics" of to-day. As we have seen, when about to consecrate the Scottish Bishops, he expressed his individual opinion as to the validity of their former Presbyterian ordination in no uncertain language, and that this opinion was "applauded" by all the rest of the Bishops, individually, who then, as a collective body, *proceeded officially*, in the name of the Church, to confer the Episcopate upon this basis. Numberless utterances of similar import, both as to the validity of Presbyterian ordination and the integrity of non-episcopal Churches, can be cited from the works of nearly all the Caroline divines—even those most prominently concerned in the Revision of 1662. It will be seen, then, that the modern exclusive view of the Episcopate which makes Ministry, Sacrament and Church itself to depend for their very *being* upon this Order, is so utterly foreign to the teaching of the English Reformers, as well as to all the official acts and utterances of the Church itself of which they, of course, were the authors, and even so foreign to the individual opinions of the more conspicuous divines of the Church for at least 200 years, that it is simply amazing that, when a man undertakes to make such

a statement within the Church to-day, he should be called upon to defend his position at all. For what may seem so strange to those who confine their theological reading to the works of a certain class of Anglican divines only, is simply common talk with historians and scholars outside the fold, and, unfornately, is not unknown, however much ignored, by the best scholars within it. In short, if what we have just asserted seems incredible, we will not attempt to reiterate our own assertions, but will ask a few "catholic" authorities to speak for us. In regard to what the English Reformers thought of this exclusive view of the Episcopate, so popular to-day, no less an authority than Keble (one of the leaders of the Oxford movement) tells us that "it might have been expected that the defenders of the English hierarchy against the first Puritans should take the highest ground, and challenge for the Bishops the same unreserved submission on the same plea of *exclusive* apostolical prerogative, which their adversaries feared not to insist on for their Elders and Deacons. *It is notorious, however, that such was not in general the line preferred by Jewel, Whitgift, Bp. Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy was entrusted during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. . . . It is enough for them to show that the government by Archbishops and Bishops is ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its exclusive claim, or to connect the Succession with the validity of the Sacraments.*" (Preface to Hooker's Works.) Remember, these are not our words. It is

the Rev. John Keble who tells you this. It is he who tells you that these men did *not "connect the Succession (i.e. of Bishops) with the validity of the Sacraments," hence with the validity or integrity of a Church*, as he (Keble) and his followers, the Tractarians and "Catholics" of to-day have been accustomed to do. Add to this also, the words of John Henry Blunt, another champion of "exclusive" Episcopacy, that *"it was not until the close of the Sixteenth Century that the distinction between the Orders of Bishops and Priests was asserted."* (*Annot. Bk. Com. Prayer*, p. 693, ed. Dutton & Co., 1894.) He means, of course, that before this date Bishop and Priest were regarded as of *the same* Order. Then what is there in my words which should appear strange? It is simply the testimony of *"catholic"* authorities themselves. If, therefore, our opponents desire to show that the Church has changed front on this subject, and holds a diametrically different opinion to-day, they must prove that this fundamental doctrinal change was brought about at some point of time *after* "the close of the Sixteenth Century"; since their own authorities admit it was not the teaching of the Church before this period. This is their only hope. Now it is precisely this assumption, so absolutely necessary for the vindication of their views, yet so absolutely without support in actual fact, which they seek to encourage. Thus, by *implication*, Blunt would have us believe that what was the universally accepted doctrine of the Church down to "the close of the Sixteenth Century," was

subsequently, in some mysterious manner, officially revoked, so that the Church of England to-day officially maintains a doctrine of the Episcopate which is absolutely the reverse of that she held during the Sixteenth Century. He does not, of course, actually make such a statement (since he cannot), but he *assumes* it. Now it is *precisely this fiction we propose to lay bare. We wish to assert most positively, that there is absolutely not one atom of truth in the assumption that this, or any other doctrine of the Church, was officially changed either at the close of the Sixteenth Century, or at any subsequent period in the history of the Church. The Revision of 1662 did not, and could not have changed it, as is popularly imagined, for the plain reason that the Revisers of 1662 tell us themselves in so many words (see Preface to Prayer Book) that they had not attempted to change any "established doctrine" of the Church in anything that they did, which simply means that any construction placed on their acts to that effect to-day, has no authority whatever.* That *individual* opinions upon the subject of the Episcopate may have begun to change at the end of the Sixteenth Century, is one thing, but that the Church *as a Church* ever changed front officially on that or any other doctrine, either then, or subsequently, is a supposition which has absolutely no evidence in its support. We repeat, it is a generally admitted fact that the only Revision of importance that ever took place after the close of the Sixteenth Century was the Revision of 1662. Since the men who made this revision themselves inform us most clearly and

emphatically that not one of all the amendments then introduced affected any "*established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England*" but were concerned merely with minor, *unessential* matters, it follows inevitably that the view of the Episcopate, which neither regarded it as an Order separate from the Presbyterate, nor held it to be *essential* to the validity of the Sacraments and the being of the Church, was in no way affected, but continued, as formerly, the official doctrine. *There is no way to escape this conclusion.* The doctrinal view of the Episcopate, then, which was entertained by the Reformers, and everywhere assumed in the official acts and utterances of the Church before the close of the Sixteenth Century, continued to be the official view of the Church afterwards. It was never subsequently altered by the Church, *and is still the official view*, as has been recently stated in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in a passage already referred to: "The Church of England expressly recognizes the *Diaconate* and the *Priesthood, but no others, as distinct Orders.*" (Art. Orders, p. 844.) Right here we may say that what misleads so many persons to-day in regard to the number of Orders recognized by the Anglican Church, and which, we may add, has tended to increase the erroneous impression that the Revisers of 1662 introduced an important doctrinal change (in spite of their emphatic assertions to the contrary) is the statement of the opening words of the Preface to the Ordinal: "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scrip-

ture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been *these Orders* of Ministers in Christ's Church,—*Bishops, Priests,* and *Deacons.*" This apparently justifies the assumption. In view of such a clear and explicit recognition of *three* Orders, such statements as that of the *Britannica,* seem to be flatly contradicted, and the common-place assertions of our ordinary Church text-books and Sunday School Manuals, amply vindicated. This is a mere cobweb. In fact it is only another instance of the widespread ignorance of the public in regard to the real history of this word "Order" and the evident unwillingness upon the part of most of our popular writers to enter into it. To begin with, the men who inserted this word into the Preface were not the Revisers of the Seventeenth Century at all, *but the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century—the very men whom we know on "Catholic" authority did not regard the Episcopate as a distinct Order from the Presbyterate.*[1] How then do we explain the matter? The answer is simple, and known to every student of the subject. The Reformers did not mean by "Order" what is now *technically* understood by that word. As used by "catholics" and High Churchmen to-day, it signifies a class of Ministers specially set aside by Divine Command, and endowed with *specific spiritual gifts peculiar to itself.* It is in this sense only

[1] The Preface to the Ordinal was indeed expanded by the Revisers of 1662, but the word in question was not then introduced. It was placed in the very first Preface in 1549, and was repeated in each successive revision of the Prayer Book.

that it has, or can have, any bearing on the *exclusive* claims of the Episcopate, which is the matter under discussion. That is to say it is only in so far as the word "Order," when applied to the Episcopate, implies that the latter is endowed with certain *inalienable* gifts and functions, *peculiarly* and *exclusively* its own, and *not* shared in by the Presbyterate or any other, that it has any bearing on the question before us. Thus, the Episcopate, in the modern technical sense, is a Divinely differentiated department of the Ministry, to which has been *exclusively* committed the specific and *inalienable* powers of *ordination* and *government*, something to which neither of the other two Orders can lay claim. Hence, when the word is met with in the Ordinal or elsewhere, the modern advocate of this theory, hesitates not to read into it this common technical interpretation. While this is unquestionably the received interpretation of the word to-day, *it had no such technical significance either in ancient days, or at the time of the Reformation, or at the time the Preface to the Ordinal was written. It was not the meaning of the Reformers who penned these lines or of those who revised the Preface in 1662.* It is as foolish for any one to imagine that the Reformers placed this modern meaning upon the word, as it would be to imagine that they placed the modern meaning upon the word "prevent" when they used it in the Collect for the Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity. The one assumption is just as inexcusable as the other, for it is well known to scholars that the ancients, and the

Reformers after them, used the word "Order" synonymously with the words "*office*," "*grade*," "*degree*," "*rank*," etc. In short, they used it *indifferently* in reference to *any* distinction of ministerial function, whether of Divine or human authority. What we now refer to as the "*offices*" (not "*Orders*") of Archbishop, Archdeacon, Sub-Deacon, Reader, Exorcist, Acolyte, Door-Keeper, etc., were all designated by them indifferently as "*Orders*" of the Ministry. Says Jeremy Taylor, "it is evident that in antiquity, 'ordo' and 'gradus' were used promiscuously. Βαθμὸς was the Greek word, and for it the Latins used 'ordo'. . . . They are all of the same name, and the same consideration, for *order*, *distance*, and *degree*, amongst the fathers; *gradus* and *ordo* are equally affirmed of them all," etc. (Episcopacy Asserted, Taylor's *Works*, vol. vii., pp. 121, 122.) It is this indiscriminate use of the word for practically any ecclesiastical office or function that has led to bewildering confusion, whenever the attempt is made by the uninformed reader to discover the opinions of the Fathers upon the subject. Thus some writers speak of *two*, some of *three*, some of *five*, *seven*, *eight* and even *ten* "*Orders*" in the Church. No conclusion is possible, therefore, from the mere use of the word itself in the writings of the ancients. We can only hope to settle the question before us by further inquiring what, out of all these "Orders," they regarded as *primitive*, *necessary* or *essential* in the Church. The utter futility of attempting to draw any conclusion from the mere use of the word

itself, is nowhere more beautifully illustrated than in Bishop Jewel's famous *Defence of the Apology* which he wrote in behalf of the English Church. "St. Hierome," says he, "writing upon the prophet Esay, reckoneth only *five* Orders or degrees in the whole Church; the Bishops, the Priests, the Deacons, the Enterers or Beginners, and the Faithful: and other Order of the Church he knoweth none. . . . Clemens saith, 'The mysteries of the holy secrecies be committed unto *three* Orders, that is, unto the Priests, unto the Deacons, and unto *the Ministers;*' and yet Deacons and Ministers, as touching the name, are all one. Dionysius likewise hath *three* Orders, *but not the same;* for he reckoneth Bishops, Priests, and *Deacons*. And, whereas, M. Harding maketh his account of *four* of the less or inferior Orders, meaning thereby *Ostiarios*, *Lectores*, *Exorcistas*, *Acoluthos*, the door-keepers, the readers, the conjurers, and the waiters or followers; his own Ignatius addeth thereto *three other Orders*, *Cantores*, *Laboratores*, *Confitentes*, the chanters or singers, the laborers, and the confessors.' Clemens added thereto *Catechistas*, the informers or teachers of them that were entering into the faith. A little vain book, bearing the name of St. Hierome, *De Septem Ordinibus Ecclesiæ*, addeth yet another Order, and calleth them *Fossarios*, that is, 'the Sextines,' or overseers of the graves. And, lest you should think that he reckoneth this Order as amongst other necessary offices to serve the people, and not as any part of *the Clergy*, his words be these: *Primus . . . in*

clericis Fossariorum Ordo est,' . . . 'The first Order *of the Clergy* is the Order of the Sextines' etc. . . . Likewise to the three greater Orders, Isidorus addeth *another distinct and several Order of Bishops;* unto whom agreeth Gulielmus Altisiodorensis and Gottofredus Pictaviensis, as appeareth by Johannes Scotus. Again, of the other inferior Orders St. Hierome leaveth out the Conjurers and waiters: St. Ambrose leaveth out the waiters and door-keepers: the Canons of the Apostles leave out Conjurers, Waiters, and Door-Keepers, all three together. In this so great dissension and darkness, what way will M. Harding take to follow? By Anacletus there be *two* Orders; by Clemens and St. Hierome *three*; by Hierome counterfeit *seven*; by others *eight*; by others *nine*; by others *ten.*" (*Id.*, pp. 272, 273.) From this it will be readily seen that, whatever the opinions of the ancients respecting the *primitive* or *necessary* degrees of the Ministry, nothing can be gathered concerning it from the mere use of the word "Ordo" in their writings, as they attached no technical significance to it, such as we are accustomed to do to-day. That the Reformers likewise employed it in this same general and ambiguous way, and that in the very article now before us (viz.: the Preface to the Ordinal) not only they, but the Revisers of 1662 after them used it likewise in the same broad and indifferent sense and not in the modern, technical sense in which our "Catholic" brethren are accustomed to employ it, should be obvious from the very passage in question. The very next line

of the Preface reads: "Which *offices* were evermore had in such reverend estimation," etc. Their meaning therefore is as clear as day. Both the Greek and the Roman Churches had *many Orders* (*i. e. offices*, or *degrees*) in their ministries, but out of all these Orders or Offices, the Revisers declared that only three had been *always and everywhere received from the days of the Apostles downward*, viz.: —the offices of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon. This fact would be evident to any one who would read Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors. They proposed, they said, to preserve these three Offices, or Orders in the Church of England. They make no further statement than this *in the Preface*. They do not go into any explanation of the technical distinctions between these three grades or offices. They merely state it as a fact that they, in contradistinction to all the rest, have existed from the beginning and have been generally received. In short, it is not in the *Preface*, but in the *rubrics* prefixed to the several services of the Ordinal (q. v.) that this matter of the *technical* distinctions existing between the offices, or orders is referred to at all. There we find something very different from what these modern commentators would lead us to imagine. When the Revisers come to formulate the Rites and Ceremonies of ordination to these various orders or offices, they take particular pains to specify by Rubric *which* of them are "*necessary*" in the Church, and which are not. In short, they take particular pains to specify by Rubric that the office or order of *Deacon*, and the

office or order of *Priest* are "*necessary*" in the Church, and they further as significantly *omit* to assert the same of the *third* office or order, *the Episcopate.*

This simply means that in their estimation the *essential* or *necessary* Offices—the true *Orders* (in our modern sense of the word)—were the *Diaconate* and *Presbyterate* only. These two, but *not* the Episcopate, they declared were "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ," and they further deemed the knowledge of this fact to be of such importance that they required that a sermon be preached at the ordination of every Deacon and Priest to emphasize it, and so keep it always before the mind of the public. Moreover, be it remembered, *it is the Revisers of 1662* that *emphasize* this fact by Rubric—the very men who, because they were living *after* "the close of the Sixteenth Century"—hence at the time when (according to Blunt) the distinction between the Orders of Bishop and Priest was *first* asserted—are supposed to have introduced this fundamental doctrinal change in the teaching of the Church. So far from being true, then, this interpretation of "Catholics" is not only the reverse of the actual facts, but *obviously* the reverse. The truth is that *before* "the close of the Sixteenth Century" the opinion that Bishops and Priests were of the *same* Order (modern sense) was so universally received, that there was no necessity for introducing the Rubrics in question at all. As no body in the Church ever thought of holding that the "order" of a Bishop was anything more than an *office*, never thought of claiming any exclusive or Divine differ-

entiation between the Episcopate and the Presbyterate, as was held between the latter and the Diaconate, no attention was paid to the matter one way or another in the Sixteenth Century. When, *after* "the close of the Sixteenth Century this claim *began* to be asserted for the *first* time by some *individuals*, it then became necessary for the Church to express herself *officially* upon the subject. This she did in 1662 by placing special Rubrics before the Ordination Services of *Deacons* and *Presbyters* calling attention to the *necessity* of *these* Orders in the Church, and as significantly *omitting* such a Rubric before that of the Consecration of a Bishop. To put the matter briefly, then, the Church of England officially recognizes, out of all the various Orders or Offices of antiquity, *three* only to have been "catholic" or practically universal in the Church from the Apostles' time, which three Orders, or Offices she proposes to perpetuate. Of these three, however, she again further declares that *two* only are really "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ," viz.: the *Diaconate* and the *Presbyterate*. This means again that, speaking *technically*, or in the *modern* sense, these two only are "*Orders*," the third being (technically) an *office*, or function only of the Presbyterate, to which a godly Presbyter is "*consecrated*" or "*ordained*," but not "*ordered*." Moreover, the clear distinction which they made between these last terms affords still further proof of our assertion. The words "making," "ordering," "ordaining," "consecrating," are not used carelessly

or indifferently here in the Ordinal. They have a history, and are here employed with precision. Thus it will be observed that the word "*ordering*" is used in reference to the appointment of both *Deacons* and *Priests*, but *not* in regard to Bishops, whereas the word "*ordaining*" is used indifferently in regard *to all three.*[1] Now when we come to look into the matter, we find that the reason why this last word is used indiscriminately in all three offices is due to the fact that it is a *general term*, referring to any kind of ecclesiastical appointment or commission, and having no *specific* or *peculiar* significance. Thus, in ancient days, it was not only Bishops, Priests, and Deacons who were "ordained," but likewise Subdeacons, Acolytes, Readers, Exorcists, Doorkeepers, etc. The same is still the case in the Roman and Greek Churches. There are eight Orders or Offices in the Roman Church to-day, and in each the candidate is "*ordained*" thereto. In the Apostolical Constitutions, the Canons of Nicæa, Chalcedon, Ancyra, Neo-Cæsarea, Antioch, Laodicea, etc., the original Greek word translated "*ordain*" is, in nearly every instance χειροτονέω. This word is used indifferently with reference to all the so-called "Orders," whether major or minor. That is to say, whether Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or whether Subdeacons, Acolytes, Readers, Exorcists, etc., are in-

[1] The word "ordain" does not occur in the *title* of the Office for Deacons, but does occur in Second Rubric of said Office: "Such as desire to be *ordained Deacons.*" It is therefore used in all three Offices indifferently.

tended, all are "*ordained*" to their respective offices. Hence the mere fact that Bishops are, in the Ordinal, said to be "ordained" as well as "consecrated" signifies nothing at all. For not only are Priests and Deacons likewise "ordained," but so also Readers, Acolytes, Doorkeepers, etc. While the word "ordain" thus refers generally to any form of ecclesiastical appointment, and is therefore used here indifferently, in accordance with primitive, catholic custom, in all *three* Offices, yet when our Revisers come to *specify the particular kind* of ordination or appointment conferred, they are careful to use the more *specific* terms—"*making*," "*ordering*," "*consecrating*." Thus, the Church ordains Deacons in the *particular* sense of "*making*" or *creating* them, *i. e.* by Divine fiat causing a man who has no ministerial office at all, to *become* or *be created* a Minister, one empowered with a peculiar *spiritual* function, not possessed by laymen; whereas, she later on ordains this Deacon a Priest in the particular sense of "*ordering*," *i. e.* spiritually *differentiating* him again from the Diaconate, setting him apart into another and higher "*Order*," *class* or *category*. When she comes to "ordain" this Presbyter a Bishop, however, she ordains him *in neither one of the foregoing senses*. That is to say, neither in the sense of "*making*" or *creating* him something that he was not before nor again in the sense of "*ordering*," or *differentiating* him into a higher class or category distinct from the Presbyterate, but simply in the sense of "*consecrating*," that is solemnly *blessing*, or *dedicating* him for

certain pastoral duties. She commissions him to exercise certain powers and perform certain functions for and in behalf of his Order and of the Church generally, of which he is the chosen head and representative. Thus we see that the Ordinal itself, as it stands to-day, only recognizes *two* Orders in the technical sense of the word. It is only Deacons and Priests that are "*ordered*" or differentiated into distinct classes. It is these *two* Orders only that she officially declares in her Rubrics to be "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ." Bishops, according to the Ordinal itself are not "*ordered*," or set over against these two in a third class or category by themselves. They are merely *consecrated Presbyters, i. e.* Presbyters specially dedicated to the performance of certain functions, *but still Presbyters.* They are still of the *same Order* (technically) as all other Presbyters, and for that very reason nothing is said of their being "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ." So again, not only does the Ordinal confine the terms, "*ordering*" to the first *two* grades of the Ministry (see heading—"The *Ordering* of Deacons," and "The *Ordering* of Priests" as against "The *Consecration* of Bishops") but Art. XXXVI. repeats the distinction, speaking of "The Book of *Consecration* of Bishops, and *Ordering* of Priests and Deacons." While *all* are "*ordained*," therefore, only *two* are "*ordered*" or set apart as *essentially* distinct and *necessary* grades of the Ministry. Whence again, we see, that in spite of the popular impression to the contrary, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is unquestionably correct

and most certainly expresses the *official* view of the Church when it declares that "the Church of England expressly recognizes the Diaconate and the Priesthood, *but no others*, as *distinct Orders;* Bishops and Archbishops are '*ordained* and *consecrated*,'" *i. e.* not "*ordered.*"

In short, the Prayer Book knows nothing whatever about the "ORDERING" of a Bishop, but only of a Deacon and a Priest, hence it knows nothing of an "ORDER" of Bishops. The Bishopric is an OFFICE (not an ORDER) to which certain Presbyters are CONSECRATED (not ORDERED). Even this is not all. To emphasize still more clearly the identity of Bishops and Presbyters in point of Order, the Revisers of 1662 took the passages of Scripture authorized by *all three* of the former Prayer Books (viz.:— Pr. Books of 1549, 1552, 1559) to be read at the *Ordering of Priests*, and directed that the same should henceforth be read at the *Consecration of a Bishop.* Hence not only has the Church herself *officially identified the "Bishops" of I. Tim. iii., with Presbyters, and the "Elders" or Presbyters of Acts xx., 17, with Bishops*, but our own good High Church brethren continue at this very hour, whenever a *Bishop* is consecrated, to read with the gravest satisfaction, as particularly appropriate for the occasion, a passage referring to "ELDERS" (*i. e.* PRESBYTERS); and relating how St. Paul, after having called together these "*Elders*" of the Church at Ephesus, had bidden them to take heed to the flock over which they had been appointed "*Bishops*," apparently in blissful

ignorance of what it is they are reading. To make the matter still clearer, we present herewith a diagram of the passages appointed to be read as Epistles in the various editions of the Prayer Book.

Pr. Bks.	Ordering of Priests.	Consecration of Bishops.
1549	Acts xx., 17 (Of Elders = Bishops) or I. Tim. iii. (Of "Bishops")	I. Tim. iii. (Of "Bishops")
1552	Acts xx., 17 (Of Elders = Bishops) or I. Tim. iii. (Of "Bishops")	I. Tim. iii. (Of "Bishops")
1559	Acts xx., 17 (Of Elders = Bishops) or I. Tim. iii. (Of "Bishops")	I. Tim. iii. (Of "Bishops")
1662	Ephes. iv., 7 (Of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers)	I. Tim. iii. (Of "Bishops") or Acts xx., 17 (Of Elders = Bishops)

If it be kept in mind that I. Tim. iii. relates only to the duties and qualifications of those called "*Bishops*" in the New Testament, while those spoken of as "*Elders*" are, in Acts xx., 17, *identified with* "*Bishops*," the force of these statements will be appreciated. [Ex. (1) "If a man desire the office of a *Bishop*, he desireth a good work. A *Bishop* then must be blameless," etc., —I. Tim. iii.; Again, (2) "From Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus, and called the *Elders* (or Presbyters) of the Church. And when they were come to him, he said unto them. . . . Take heed

therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *Bishops*" (ἐπισκόπους)[1];— Acts xx., 17.]

It will be readily seen from the above that the compilers of our first *three* Prayer Books undoubtedly understood the "Bishops" referred to in I. Tim. iii. to be identical with *both* the Presbyters and Bishops of the present day. That is they regarded the two as constituting *the same Order* of ministers. They used this Epistle indifferently for the Ordering of a Priest or for the Consecration of a Bishop;—a position abundantly justified by the alternate passage Acts xx., 17, wherein those called "Elders," or Presbyters are clearly identified with those called "Bishops." Nor was their position the least changed by the Revision of 1662, for while the authors of that Revision saw fit to substitute Ephes. iv., 7 in place of the former Epistles (a selection absolutely colorless and indefinite as regards the point in question) yet they nevertheless not only *retained* the Epistle formerly used at the Consecration of a Bishop in that office, but further took the selection hitherto used exclusively at the Ordination of a Priest (Acts xx., 17). This selection *identified* the offices of Presbyter and Bishop. They placed it in the office of the Conse-

[1] It is a mere quibble to object that the word is translated sometimes "*overseers*," for this is only the meaning of the Greek ἐπισκοποι, or English "*Bishops*." It is sufficient to observe that ἐπισκόπους is the Greek original in this passage and that the Revised Version translates it "*Bishops*," and the Revised Version has been recognized *officially* by the Church.

cration of a Bishop, a measure *absolutely inexplicable if not for the express purpose of identifying the two*, for the alternate selection (I. Tim. iii.), containing a most full account of the qualifications for such an Office, and altogether free from any embarrassing reference to Elders or their identification with Bishops, would alone have been amply sufficient for any other purpose. Add to all this the facts already adduced as to the special headings and Rubrics introduced into the Ordinal by the Revisers of 1662, emphasizing the opinion that there were but *two Orders "necessary"* or *essential* in the Church, viz.: *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and we believe that to every fair-minded person, who has really followed the argument, the evidence must be conclusive. We may, then, summarize the whole matter as follows:

(1) Nothing can be clearer to any one reading the New Testament attentively than that the persons referred to as "Elders" and "Bishops" were one and the same Order. This fact was not only asserted by the English Reformers generally,[1] but is practically the unanimous opinion of modern scholars.[2]

[1] It was *officially* asserted by them as early as 1537 (*Institution of a Christian Man*) and again *officially* 1543 (*Necessary Doctrine and Erudition*, etc.) and frequently reasserted later on in their private writings.

[2] Hatch, Lightfoot, Sanday, Harnack, Schaff, Briggs, Fisher, and many others. Even Gore admits this fact. Says Prof. Fisher: "Respecting the rise of the Episcopate there is, at the present day, a near approach to a *Consensus* among scholars in the various Protestant Churches." "Within the covers of the New Testament, the terms Presbyter and Bishop are synonymous." (*Beginnings of Christianity*, p. 551.)

(2) Nothing is clearer than that the Church of England herself officially endorsed this view:

(a) By using the passage in I. Tim. iii., relating to "Bishops" alike in the services of the Ordering of a Presbyter and the Consecration of a Bishop and again by using the passage in Acts xx., 17, which identifies Elder and Bishop, sometimes in the one service, sometimes in the other.

(b) By using the word "*Ordering*" (*i. e.* placing the candidate in a separate "*Order*" or *Class*), only before the Ordination of a *Deacon* and a *Priest*, and NOT before the Consecration of a Bishop. And,

(c) By placing special Rubrics, in these *two* services (viz.: the Ordination of *Deacons* and of *Priests*) asserting that *these two* Orders were "NECESSARY" in the Church of Christ, and requiring sermons to be preached *emphasizing* that fact, but significantly OMITTING to place any such Rubric before the service of the Consecration of a Bishop. This is *in itself a flat contradiction of the whole point of the "Catholic" contention that the Episcopate and the Episcopate ALONE is* "NECESSARY" *or* ESSENTIAL *in the Church.*

It is a curious and significant commentary, therefore, upon the opinions of our "catholic" brethren, that the very "Order" which they claim to be not only necessary, but *exclusively* necessary in the Church (necessary to the very *being* of the Church), is *the only one of the three which the Church significantly refrains from declaring necessary*, and the two remaining ones, which they deem of only secondary

importance, she declares to be "*necessary*"—so necessary, in fact, that at the ordination of every Deacon and Priest she requires a special sermon to be preached *calling attention* to their necessity in the Church. From this again, therefore, it will be obvious to our readers how far "catholic" teaching really represents the *official* view of the Church.

With these facts clearly in mind, then, we are in a position to understand the attitude of the Church of England toward the Church of Scotland at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. We see that it was no surrender of principle whatever that led her to acknowledge the inherent power of the Presbytery of the Scottish Kirk to ordain (2d Resolution of the Assembly) as one of the basic principles of unity, or any unworthy compromise upon the part of Archbishop Bancroft in accepting the Presbyterian ordination of the Scottish candidates for the Bishopric as valid. As we have before observed, the opinion expressed by the Archbishop upon this subject was his *official* (not *private*) judgment, inasmuch as the matter involved *an official act of the Church of England herself*, in one of the most important measures that she was ever called upon to consider, viz.: the conferring of the Episcopate upon a sister denomination.[1] Note that it was "applauded to by the other Bishops" upon whom this duty also devolved, that even Andrews, who had raised the point, "*acquiesced*" in the decision, and that the consecration determined upon under these conditions *was officially performed in*

accordance therewith, nor have we any evidence that it was ever questioned afterwards. In short, we have here only another instance of the *official* recognition by the Church of England of the validity of Presbyterian Ordination, and of the further fact that presbyterially governed bodies are true parts of the Catholic Church. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the Bishop of Ely did, in the foregoing instance, apparently express some doubt on this subject, yet we find him even then "acquiescing" in the decision of his brother Bishops, and a little later on even *reiterating the same opinion as his own.* For in his letter to Du Moulin (1618) he says,—"though our government be of Divine right, it follows not, either that there is 'no salvation,' or *that a Church cannot stand without it. He must needs be stone blind, that sees not Churches standing without it. . . . This is not to damn any thing, to prefer a better thing before it: this is not to damn your Church, to recall it to another form, that all antiquity was better pleased with, that is, to ours.*" (Second letter to Du Moulin. *Words. Christ. Instit.*, vol. iii., p. 239. Also Goode's *Orders.*) Archbishop Bramhall, another ardent defender of Episcopacy, also expresses the same opinion. As late as 1659, on the eve of the Restoration, he writes: "I cannot assent . . . that either *all* or *any considerable part* of the Episcopal divines in England *do unchurch either all or the most part of the Protestant Churches*" (plain evidence that even then, 1659, this view was not held by any "*considerable*

benefice in the Church of England, without submitting to Episcopal ordination as had heretofore been *the rule* for over one hundred years. This practice must be discontinued, but in discontinuing it they were careful to point out that *there was nothing wrong with the doctrinal position of the men who had formerly allowed it.* In short, that what changes or alternations they now introduced, were made in the interests of *expediency* only, and had no reference whatever to any essential doctrine. In fact, so far were they from desiring to change the *doctrinal* position of the Church on *this*, or *any* point whatsoever, and yet so fearful were they that the revision of the Prayer Book proposed would nevertheless be interpreted by some persons to mean this very thing (an apprehension which we see now to have been only too well founded) that they took particular pains to assert at the very outset that "of the sundry alterations proposed unto us, we have rejected all such as either were of dangerous consequence (*as secretly striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice* of the Church of England, or, indeed, of the *whole Catholic Church of Christ*) or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain. But such alterations as were tendered to us . . . as seemed to us in any degree requisite or *expedient*, we have willingly and of our own accord assented unto; *not enforced so to do by any strength of argument, convincing us of the necessity of making the said alterations; for we are fully persuaded in our judgment (and we here profess it to the world) that the*

Book, as it stood before established by law, doth not contain in it any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same," etc. (Preface to Prayer Book, 1662.) Moreover, not content with this explicit statement, the Act of Uniformity (XIV Carol. ii.) which was passed to enforce the use of the Revised Prayer Book, went even farther, and having enacted (*in support* of the prohibition thus added to the Preface to the Ordinal) that "no person whatsoever shall thenceforth be capable to be admitted to any Parsonage, Vicarage, Benefice," etc., unless he shall have been "ordained Priest according to the Form and Manner in and by the said Book prescribed, unless he have formerly been made Priest by Episcopal ordination," fully reveals that this was a measure of *expediency only*, and not a reflection upon the *doctrinal* position of the Reformers in admitting the *validity* of Presbyterian Ordination, and recognizing non-episcopal bodies as true Churches *by significantly adding this proviso: "Provided, that the penalties in this Act shall not extend to the Foreigners or Aliens of the Foreign Reformed Churches allowed or to be allowed by the King's Majesty, His Heirs and Successors in England."* If the words of the Prayer Book were intended to change the *doctrinal* attitude of the Church of England, on the subject of the validity of Presbyterian Ordination, and the status of non-episcopal bodies as genuine Churches, it is

perfectly clear that the statement of the Revisers in the Preface, just quoted, that they did *not* intend to alter any "*established doctrine*" by the changes which they made, was *false*, that their further statement that the Book *as it stood before* did *not* contain anything *contrary to said doctrine*, was a second falsehood, and that this further Act of Parliament allowing the King to continue to admit such non-episcopally ordained Ministers at his discretion, in spite of the fact that it was now absolutely irreconcilable with the new *doctrine* of the Church which they had established (and which this very Act was supposed to enforce), was a miserable stultification of all the official declarations and proceedings of the Church. In short, it is only necessary to read the Preface of the Prayer Book of 1662, and the Act of Uniformity (XIV Carol. ii.) to show by *reductio ad absurdum* the utter falsity of the assumption that the Revision of 1662 changed in any way the *doctrinal* position of the Church of England respecting the Episcopate or the status of non-episcopal bodies as true parts of the Catholic Church, and as a consequence, the validity of the ordinations of these non-episcopal Ministers. So far from this being true, it was, on the contrary, the *boast* of the Revisers that they had *not* changed *anything essential*, either in the doctrine, or the practice of the Church. Nothing can be clearer than this fact to any one who reads. Moreover, the claim that is sometimes made that the practice of re-ordination is in itself a condemnation of former alleged Orders, and this, proof that

the Revisers intended to change the doctrinal position of the Church on this point (their direct words to the contrary notwithstanding) is again demolished by the testimony of those living and writing *at the time, which flatly contradicts this assumption.* Archbishop Leighton was one of the very first persons whom the requirement of reordination affected. He was compelled to be re-ordained, yet he himself, according to the testimony of his personal friend, Bishop Burnet, did *not* regard such reordination as signifying any annulment of his former orders. "He thought that every Church might make such rules of Ordination as they pleased, and that they might ordain all that came to them from any other Church; and that the reordaining a Priest ordained in another Church imported no more, but that they received him into Orders *according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the Orders he had formerly received.*" (*Hist. of His Own Times*, vol. i., p. 140.) This shows very clearly what Archbishop Leighton understood it to mean in his own case, a conclusion, the correctness of which, it is natural to presume, he would be most particular in ascertaining. It is needless to say that Burnet regarded it likewise. Archbishop Bramhall, too, another contemporary, and by no means a Low Churchman, is explicit in his testimony to the same effect. He says, in his *Letters of Orders*, when reordaining one who had previously received Scotch Presbyterian Ordination only: "*Not annulling his former Orders (if any he had) nor determining their invalidity, much less condemning all the sacred*

Orders of the Foreign Churches (a matter which we leave to the proper Judge to decide) but MERELY SUPPLEMENTING whatever requisite, according to the Canons of the English Church, had been formerly omitted, and providing for the peace of the Church, so that the occasion of schism may be taken away, and that it may satisfy the conscience of the faithful, nor that any should avoid his Presbyterian ministrations as though they were invalid." (*Works*, Ox. Ed., vol. i., p. xxxvii., quoted by Goode.) That is to say, the Church adopted this measure, not to condemn Presbyterian Orders, but simply to remove all occasion of controversy and dispute. Bingham, another authority of the same period, the author of the *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, and renowned as one of the most learned and scholarly writers of his time, also testifies to the same effect. In regard to the "business of re-ordination," says he, "which some reckon so great a charge against the Act of Uniformity . . . what harm there is in this, I confess I never yet could see: and I am sure there is nothing in it *contrary to the principles or practice of Geneva nor perhaps of the whole French Church.* For at Geneva it is *their* common practice, whenever they remove a Minister from one Church to another, to give him a new and solemn ordination by imposition of hands and prayer. Now, if it be lawful, by the rules of the Church of Geneva . . . why cannot men in England consent to receive a new Ordination?" Moreover, he goes on to show that the fact that the former ordination is assumed to be valid by them, does not affect the

matter, for even then, he asserts, "I show that they may submit to a new ordination without sin" and that "they *ought* to do it, after the example of Geneva, rather than set up separate meetings and preach against the will of their superiors, to the destruction of the peace of the Church," etc. These last words, moreover, reveal very clearly what we have every reason to believe, from other independent evidence, was *the real motive* in this requirement of Episcopal ordination of all foreign clergy desiring to enter the Church of England, viz.: not to reflect upon the validity of their former Orders, but to insist that they give tangible evidence of their willingness to submit to Episcopal government which their former insubordination had rendered necessary, and to insure that the emoluments and endowments of an *Episcopal* Church were not foolishly surrendered to ambitious and rebellious *Presbyterians* within it. In short, we have direct evidence that such worldly matters as the disposition of benefices and preferments, together with the practical necessity of peace in the Church, were at the bottom of the whole measure, and that the doctrinal question as to the validity or non-validity of Presbyterian ordination was not even remotely considered. Bishop Hall, writing in the very midst of this discussion which culminated in this official act, distinctly says: "The sticking at the admission of our brethren, returning from foreign reformed Churches, *was not in the case of ordination, but of institution: they had been acknowledged Ministers of Christ without any other hands laid*

on them; but according to the laws of our land, they were not capable of *institution to benefice*, unless they were so qualified as the statute of this realm doth require. And, secondly, I know those, more than one, that by virtue of that ordination which they brought with them from other reformed Churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings without any exceptions against the lawfulness of their callings." (Vol. x., p. 341.) Like statements from Fleetwood, Burnet, Cosin, and Strype could be adduced, not merely testifying to the *common* practice of the Church up to the year 1662 in admitting Presbyterially ordained Clergy to officiate in the Church without re-ordination (which is so well known to all historians as to need no comment here) but, further, *to enjoy benefice and preferment*, and it was this last feature of Act XIII. Elizabeth, *and this feature only*, that the Church amended in 1662. As Macaulay distinctly tells us: "Episcopal ordination was now (1662), *for the first time*, made an indispensable qualification *for preferment.*" (*History*, vol. i., p. 132.) But finally, to cap the climax, we have only to remind our readers that it was in this same year again (1662), and at the hands of these same men, that the "Prayer for all Conditions of Men" was, *for the first time*, set forth, and that Prayer, endorsed by Convocation, identifies "*the Catholic Church*" with "*all*" of those "*who profess and call themselves Christians*," irrespective of their particular forms of Church Government, thus further refuting the assumption of our "Catholic" brethren

that the Revisers considered the Episcopate as essential to the existence of "*the Catholic Church.*" For it is self-evident that if "*all* who profess and call themselves Christians" are members of "the Catholic Church," and if again, all non-episcopal bodies "profess and call themselves Christians," then all non-episcopal bodies belong to the Catholic Church. Corollary, Episcopacy is not essential to the *being* of the Catholic Church.

We conclude then that the Revisers of 1662, so far from attempting to change the doctrinal position of the Church in the sixteenth century upon the subject of the Episcopate, and to introduce the idea that it was *essential* or *necessary* to the *being* of the Church, *did everything they could to guard against this very misinterpretation of their labours.* This will be evident from the following considerations:

1st. They take particular pains to state in the Preface to their new Prayer Book that they have *carefully refrained from* changing any doctrinal teaching of the Church.

2d. They introduce *three new Rubrics* into the Ordinal to *stress* the fact that in the opinion of the Reformers (whose doctrinal view they have changed in no particular) as well as in their own, only *two* out of the three Orders, so called, are really "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ," viz., the *Diaconate* and the *Presbyterate.*

3d. They are further careful to retain the appropriate headings of the former Ordinal which *emphasize* the fact that while *Deacons* and *Priests* are

"*ordered*" (*i. e.*, differentiated into separate Orders or Classes), Bishops are not "ordered" or set apart from Presbyters in a higher Class or Category to themselves, but merely "*Consecrated*" to the performance of certain acts.

4th. They emphasize the fact that the restrictions which they place upon the practice of allowing non-episcopally ordained Ministers to officiate without re-ordination is a *restriction only* (*not a prohibition*) of a custom which though *valid in principle* is *inexpedient in practice;* — they do this by *specially providing that the King might at his personal discretion* CONTINUE THE PRACTICE IN SPECIFIC CASES.

5th. They officially recognize the non-episcopal organizations of their day as "*Reformed Churches*" in the Act of Uniformity.

6th. They set forth a *new* Prayer officially identifying "*the Catholic Church*" with "*all who profess and call themselves Christians,*" thus clearly comprehending *all the non-episcopal bodies.* Moreover, in addition to all this, *they* (we mean *the Revisers themselves*, as well as their contemporaries) leave us numberless *un*-official statements of their own *personal* belief (*as individuals*) in the validity of non-episcopal Orders, and of their recognition of these non-episcopal bodies as *true Churches*, to say nothing of many explicit declarations that such was also *the official view of the Church itself* in their day. Under these circumstances, we maintain that it is a feat of logical prestidigitation only that can possibly transform these facts into a justification of the "catholic"

theory of the Episcopate, and its *absolute necessity* to the *being* of the Church and the Ministry, as the official view of this Church. When the Revisers' own amendments to the Ordinal *significantly refrain* from asserting the necessity of the Episcopate and as *significantly go out of the way to emphasize* the necessity of the Diaconate and the Presbyterate, and when, on top of all this, we find their individual writings to be full of admissions regarding the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and abounding with recognitions of these non-episcopal bodies as true Churches, the attempt to make it appear that they held the views of modern "Catholics" respecting the Episcopate, or that they "unchurched" their Protestant brethren, is not only idle, but simply preposterous. The only fact that, when viewed superficially, seems at first sight to render this assumption plausible, is the requirement of re-ordination, but closer examination removes even this impression. For whatever may be the popular opinion to-day as to the legitimacy of repeating ordinations, it is certain, not only that authorities have differed profoundly upon this subject, but that the Revisers in question *held that it could be done.* They held that a second ordination did *not* reflect upon the validity of the first. This is all we know or need to know concerning the matter here under discussion. For, be it remembered, we are not here discussing the abstract question, Can a valid ordination be repeated? (any more than we are discussing the abstract question, Can Presbyters ordain?) but,

What was and is the official attitude of the Church of England upon that subject? Right or wrong, in itself, we maintain that the Church of England officially assumed that a second ordination could be had *without impugning the validity of the first*, and that right or wrong in itself, this was the view of the Revisers. Hence, right or wrong in itself, it is certain that the re-ordination practiced by the Church of England was *not intended to reflect upon the validity of the former Ordination.* Leighton, Burnet, Bramhall, and Bingham, as we have just seen, tell us this in so many words, the latter asserting that the same view was maintained even by Geneva, and could be justified by an appeal to antiquity. When we add to this the further fact that such an interpretation squares with all the other acts and utterances of the Revisers, both official and unofficial, whereas the contrary assumption cannot be made to fit in with them at all, but only renders all such acts and utterances contradictory and absurd, the conclusion here set forth is irresistible. In short, the whole thing was done as a measure of *expediency* only—not with the intention of reflecting upon the *validity* of Presbyterian ordination which they had repeatedly recognized both officially, and unofficially, but simply to insure respect for Episcopal Government in the Church. They wished to provide against the repetition of those acts of insubordination which their former leniency towards such Presbyterially ordained Ministers had brought about. But while this explanation should be satisfactory to any unbiassed mind,

yet happily there is a quicker way of disposing of the whole problem. We can at once dispense with the whole "Catholic" argument, by merely saying that *re-ordination is not absolutely necessary even to-day.* That it was enacted as *a measure of expediency only*, and not as a *doctrinal necessity*, is proved by the fact that the very Act that enforced this provision of re-ordination, also provided that *the King could dispense with it at his discretion, a prerogative which he still possesses to-day.* We have already referred to this *Proviso* of XIV. Carol. II., which is so deftly ignored by those whose interests are not materially enhanced by it. We will make no further comment of our own, therefore, but will merely call attention to the following quotation. Says a certain writer, "Perhaps the most conclusive of all considerations as to the position which the English Church occupies in regard to this question is to be found in the facts that: (1) Up to the year 1820, *i. e.*, the end of George III.'s reign, a large proportion of the Clergy in the Channel Islands *were not Episcopally ordained*, although they ministered according to the formularies of the Church of England, and *formed a part of the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester;* (2) That the Kings of England up to the same date constantly had attached to their households a Presbyterian Chaplain; (3) That the Queen to this day has the same in Scotland; and (4) That the Act of Uniformity of Charles II., the very Act, and the first and only Act, which made it necessary, as a rule, that all persons thereafter to be admitted to the cure of souls in England should have

been Episcopally ordained, contains also a clause" (here is appended the Proviso which we have quoted from the Act) "*specially permitting the King to admit persons not so ordained, who were foreigners and ordained in the foreign Protestant Churches, to preferment in the English Church without re-ordination. This permission was acted upon by King Charles II. within a very few years after it was passed, and it would doubtless be within the power of her present Majesty*" (he refers to Queen Victoria) "*to act upon it again if she should see fit to do so. This being the actual position of the English Church from the reign of Elizabeth to the present time, it is nothing less than an absurdity to talk of it as holding the 'doctrine of the Apostolic Succession.'*" (*Romanism, Protestantism, Anglicanism,* pub. by Prot. Epis. Soc. for Promotion of Evang. Knowledge, New York, 1883, pp. 44, 45.) This effectually disposes of the argument that the practice of re-ordination by the Church of England was intended to reflect upon the validity of Presbyterian Ordination, as such, or that it was adopted as anything more than a mere measure of expediency.

Before bringing this chapter to a close, it may, perhaps, be well to examine the utterances of some of the men who lived during the epoch in question, and who have incidentally thrown light upon the matter. As a sample of the opinion which prevailed even during the troublous period of the Interregnum, when prejudice against Presbyterianism was certainly strongest, we have only to quote these words of Archbishop Usher, the greatest scholar of his time: "I

have ever declared my opinion to be, that *Episcopus et Presbyter gradu tantum differunt non ordine*, and consequently that in places where Bishops cannot be had, *the ordination by Presbyters standeth valid;* yet, on the other hand, holding as I do that a Bishop hath superiority in degree above a Presbyter, you may easily judge that the Ordination made by such Presbyters as have severed themselves from those Bishops unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience, cannot possibly, by me, be excused from being schismatical. And howsoever I must needs think that the Churches which have no Bishops are thereby become very much *defective* in their government, and that the Churches in France, who living under a Popish power, can not do what they would, are more excusable in this defect than the Low Countries, that live under a free State, *yet, for the testifying my Communion with these Churches (which I do love and honour as true members of the Church Universal) I do profess that, with like affection, I should receive the blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch Ministers, if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the French Ministers if I were in Charentone."* (*Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, etc.* By N. Bernard. Lond., 1657, 8 vo., pp. 125, 127.)[1] If now, we examine

[1] In addition to this *explicit* acknowledgment of the *validity* of Presbyterian Ordination on the part of this most distinguished scholar and prelate, we call attention to his no less explicit statement that a Bishop differs from a Presbyter merely in *Grade* or *Office—not in Order*. In fact, it is *because* they are one in "*Order*" that he asserts the ordination by Presbyters is *valid*, and the Sacraments administered at their hands efficacious.

the works of the more exclusive Churchmen who wrote at the time of, and soon after the Restoration, we find that they, like their predecessors, held the same opinion as to the limits of the Holy Catholic Church, and the validity of non-episcopal ordination. Of all the members of the Committee to whom was entrusted the Revision of 1662, we are informed, by High Churchmen themselves, that none contributed more to the result than Cosin of Durham. Cosin, we are told, was "the most learned ritualist of the day," and was conspicuously the leader of those advocating a more stringent measure concerning submission to Episcopal authority, as Baxter was the leader of the Presbyterian party. It was because "Cosin had brought with him a copy of the Prayer Book as it stood after the Revision of James I., *with his own notes, on which he had expended the labour of forty years, as against the proposed Prayer Book of the Presbyterians on which Baxter had expended fourteen days*,"[1] that the Commission was able to proceed so rapidly with its work. If any one man, therefore, was competent to reflect the attitude of the Episcopal party in this matter, it was Cosin, to whose judgment upon disputed points with the Presbyterians, they were generally ready to defer. *Yet, at that time, and to the very end of his life, Cosin recognized the non-*

[1] Hore's *Hist. Ch. of England*, pp. 367, 368. He also tells us that: "At the Revision of 1662, as many as 600 alterations, *mostly verbal, and of no importance from a doctrinal point of view*, are said to have been made." (*Id.*, p. 368.) Wherever we look the evidence is the same, no doctrine or essential practice of the Church was touched by the Revisers of 1662.

episcopal bodies as true Churches, admitted the validity of Presbyterian Ordination, and even went so far as to assert that this view was not his private opinion merely, but the official view of the Church of England. "Though we may safely say and maintain it," says he, "that their Ministers are not so duly and rightly ordained as they should be . . . yet that, by reason of this defect, *there is a total nullity in their ordinations, or that they be therefore no Priests or Ministers of the Church at all, because they are ordained by those only who are no more but Priests and Ministers among them; for my part, I would be loath to affirm and determine it against them.* And I love not to be herein *more wise or harder than our own Church is, which because it hath never publicly condemned and pronounced the ordinations of the other Reformed Churches to be void, as it doth not those of the unreformed Churches, neither among the Papists," etc. . . . I dare not take upon me to condemn or determine a nullity of their own ordinations against them.* . . . Of this opinion and judgment in old time were (here follows a long list of authorities who support his view). . . . All which authors are of so great credit with you and me, that though we are not altogether of their mind, yet we would be loath to let the world see that we contradict them all, and condemn their judgment openly; as needs we must, *if we hold the contrary, and say that the Ministers of the Reformed French Churches for want of Episcopal Ordination, have no order at all.* . . . . *If the Church and Kingdom of England have acknowledged them* (as they did in admitting them

when they fled thither for refuge, and placing them *by public authority* in divers of the most eminent cities among us without prohibition) why should we, that are but *private persons*, utterly disclaim their communion in their own country." (Letter to Cordel, 1650, who is protesting that the French Churches "*have no Priests.*" The whole letter is given by Basire and Bishop Fleetwood, and is cited, in part, by Goode, who adds that "*similar statements are expressed by him (Cosin) in a Letter published by Dr. R. Watson (1684) and 'also in his last Will inserted in the Preface to his Regni Angliae Relig. et Gubern. Eccles. Lond. 1729, 4to.'*" Now if these words do not furnish conclusive proof of the truth of our position, we hardly think that *any* evidence would be sufficient to convert our "Catholic" brethren. The truth is we could hardly *invent* testimony that would be more favourable or that would more completely cover every disputed point. He testifies (a) to his own *personal* attitude toward the question of the validity of their Orders, (b) to the *official* attitude of the Church of England herself, both *before* his day, and *in his day*, (c) to the fact that these bodies are (not only Churches) but "*Reformed* Churches" as opposed to the "*Un*-reformed Churches" of the Papists, (d) to what was the opinion of a long list of eminent authorities in ancient days on the question of the validity of non-episcopal ordination; and all this testimony, adduced in condemnation of the *private opinion* of Cordel (which was synonymous with the "Catholic" view of to-day) is first published in

1650—shortly *before* the Restoration, repeated again *after* the Restoration, and all by a man who was not only one of the Revisers, but, generally regarded as the *leader* of the Revisers, the *brains* of the Commission. Again we find that Archbishop Sancroft, another member of the Committee on Revision (1662), whom Macaulay describes as "an honest, pious, narrow-minded man," we find that even he could exhort the Clergy of his Province (1688) to pray for "the universal blessed union of all *Reformed Churches* both at home and abroad against our common *enemies*" in order that "*all they who do confess the Holy Name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His Holy Word* (that is to say—*the whole Catholic Church*; *vide* words of Prayer Book) may also meet in one Holy Communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love." (D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i., p. 325.) Still more important is the testimony of Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, a non-juror like Sancroft, for not only is he still more explicit in voicing his own personal recognition of the non-episcopal Churches and their Orders, but he tells us *in so many words* that such was the view of the Church of England at the time he was writing, which was *after* the Restoration and the amendments of 1662. "I do allow Episcopacy," says he, "to be an Apostolical institution, and the truly ancient and Catholic government of the Church, of which more hereafter; but yet in this very book I prove industriously and at large that, in case of necessity, when Bishops cannot be had, a Church may be a *truly Catholic*

Church, and such as we may and ought to communicate with, without Bishops, in vindication of some Foreign Reformed Churches who have none; and therefore I do not make Episcopacy so absolutely necessary to Catholic communion as to unchurch all Churches that have it not." So much for his *personal* view; then he adds—"*the Church of England* does not deny but that, in case of necessity the ordination of Presbyters may be valid." (*Vindic. of Some Prot. Principles, etc.* Reprinted in Gibson's *Preserv.* Vol. iii., pp. 410, 432. Cited by Goode—On Orders.) Again, Dr. Claget, writing, like Sherlock, *after* the Restoration, affirms that "The Church of England *doth not unchurch* those parts of Christendom that hold the unity of the Faith" (*Brief Discourse Con. the Notes of the Church*, pp. 166, 169)—a statement obviously referring to the non-episcopal Protestant Churches. Still later again (*i. e.*, 1719) Archbishop Wake writes: "Although in certain matters they dissent from our Anglican Communion, *I willingly embrace the Reformed Churches.* I would desire indeed the Episcopal Government. . . and that it had been retained by these. . . . Meanwhile as it is wanting, *should I be so iron-hearted, merely because of a defect of this kind* (*for malice alone would permit me to speak thus*) *that I should believe that some of them should be cut off from communion with us; or that with certain rabid writers among our own people, I should pronounce that they have no true and valid Sacraments, and even go so far as scarcely to regard them as Christians!*" (*Vide* Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.*, 4th Appendix.)

But it is useless to continue such quotations. We merely ask how is it possible for our "Catholic" friends to reconcile these interpretations of the Church's *official* position made by men of the very highest authority within that Communion, some of them writing before the Revision of 1662, some of them members of the Committee on Revision itself, and writing anywhere from about the period in question till the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, with their own theory of *a complete doctrinal change of front on this momentous question in the year 1662*, and all this in the face of the clearest, *official* declaration of the Church herself that *no changes whatever were made in any of her doctrines in that year, and the further abundant corroboration of this statement by numbers of the most eminent authorities of that period—some of whom personally took part in the work of the Revision?* The truth is, as we have said before, *the whole theory is a groundless fiction.* It is one thing to say, therefore, that beginning about the time of the Restoration (and as a result of the suffering which the Church had undergone during the Interregnum at the hands of the Presbyterians) *public sentiment* began to change, and an attitude less liberal towards the claims of Presbyterianism began to assert itself, which was doubtless reflected in some *individual* cases in exclusive claims for the Episcopate (which we would not be disposed to question), but quite another to assert that the Church *as a Church officially repudiated at that time her former doctrinal position on the subject of the validity of Presbyterian*

Ordination. We do not deny the first proposition, *but we emphatically deny the second.* In short, to prove the truth of their contention, our opponents must show either that the Church *completely reversed* her former doctrinal position in the year 1662, or else that she had done so at some later period in her history. As the first alternative has been proved impossible, the second becomes their last resort.

But where can they point to any subsequent doctrinal revision? On the contrary, it is the consensus of opinion amongst all our ecclesiastical historians that no doctrinal or other alterations of any moment have been introduced since that epoch. Few authorities, we presume, stand higher in the estimation of our American Churchmen generally, than the late Bishop Seymour of Springfield, who nevertheless tells us that "the Revision of 1662 may be justly called the *last*, because no changes of any moment have been made since by the orders-in-council, which have necessarily been issued on the accession of successive sovereigns, and by the Amendment of the Act of Uniformity passed in the reign of Queen Victoria. *The Church of 1662, therefore, has been from that date, and is to-day, the Ecclesia Docens of England.*" And, he adds, as showing the bearing of the doctrinal position of the Church of England upon that of our own,—"When we took our departure as an independent daughter Church, we brought our Mother's Prayer Book with us, and used it, as far as local circumstances would allow, as our own. This fact we explicitly declare in the Preface of our Prayer

Book, since we affirm in unmistakable language as follows: '*This Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship, or further than local circumstances require.*'" (Art. by Bp. Seymour, Stevens's *Genesis of American Prayer Book*, pp. 67, 68.)

To bring the matter still more clearly before the mind of the reader, we here append a tabular synopsis of some of the principal official acts of the Church from the beginning of the Reformation downward. While the reform movement was initiated under Henry VIII., it did not progress to any extent until the reign of Edward, nor did it reach its final form or completion until the reign of Elizabeth, so that the Prayer Book, Articles, and other formularies, underwent considerable changes before assuming (1559–1563) what is *substantially* so far as essential doctrinal matters are concerned, their present form. While, therefore, for our present purpose, it would be unfair to quote any acts or formularies made prior to the reign of Elizabeth, which were subsequently *eliminated or rescinded by lawful authority*, as of any force to-day, yet it is of course self-evident that the substance of any act or formulary promulgated prior to that reign, which was *never* subsequently reversed or abolished by authority, are *all the more* admissible as evidence, inasmuch as their promulgation in a period of transition, and at a time when the Church had by no means settled all its doctrinal problems, and their continued preservation through all the

changes and alterations of a later period, bespeak the fact that upon these particular matters at least, *there has never been any serious doubt even from the initial stage of the reform movement.* Of such a nature, for example, is the Church's attitude toward the validity of Lay Baptism—a judgment formally expressed in the very 1st Prayer Book of Edward, 1549, and never since rescinded, and the obvious corollary deducible therefrom that even from the very beginning the Church has regarded all baptized persons (whether under Episcopal authority or not) as members of the Holy Catholic Church.

Some Official Acts of the Church of England		Unofficial Testimony that the Reformers and the Church itself recognized non-episcopal Churches and the validity of their ordinations.
1549 Church officially declares Baptism to be incorporation into the Catholic Church. Officially recognizes *Lay* Baptism as valid. *Ergo*—Church officially recognizes all baptized persons whether members of Episcopal or Non-Episcopal bodies as members of the Holy Catholic Church.	Prayer Book.	"Nearly up to the time that Hooker wrote (1594) *numbers* had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian Ordination." —Keble. —— So also Hallam, Macaulay and many others. But better still is the witness of contempor-

1550 Patent granted by Edward VI. officially recognizes "*the Church of the Germans*" and the validity of its Ministry and Sacraments.

1552 Church officially reaffirms position of 1549 on Baptism. } Prayer Book.

1559 Church officially reaffirms position of 1549–1552 on Baptism. } Prayer Book.

1570 Act XIII. Elizabeth officially permits non-episcopally ordained Ministers to officiate and to enjoy benefice in Ch. of England without reordination—so recognizing *validity* of such Ordination, and confirming prior recognition of non-episcopal bodies as *true Churches*.

1572 Prayer set forth officially defines "Thy Church Universal dispersed throughout the whole world" as consisting of "all they that confesse Thy Holy Name," so including members of non-episcopal bodies.

1580 Prayer set forth officially recognizing "*the Churches of France, Flanders, and of such of other places*" as were then suffering persecution.

1582 Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, acting *officially* issues license to one John Morrison "*to celebrate divine offices, to minister the Sacraments,*" etc., without reordination, assigning as the reason the *validity* of his Orders bestowed "*according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland,*" etc.

N. B. Ch. of Scotland was non-episcopal. Both the Church and its Orders thus officially recognized.

ary writers. See works of the following:

Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Philpot, Bradford, Grindal, Whitgift, Jewel, Pilkington, Calfhill, Hooker, Whittaker, Fulke, Saravia.

1590 Prayer issued by authority recognizes "Thy servants our brethren in France" as constituting part of "Thy Church."

1604 The Bidding Prayer, officially set forth by the Church, defines "Christ's Holy Catholic Church" as "the whole Congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world," and Specifically mentions the Church of *Scotland, by name*, as a part thereof.

1610 Ch. of England officially recognizes validity of the "*Ordaining Presbytery*" of the Kirk of Scotland, and on such recognition Episcopacy is sanctioned by the latter.

Archbishop Bancroft officially recognizes the Church of Scotland as a true Church, and its presbyterial ordinations as valid, when about to consecrate Bishops for Scotland.

1634 Official recognition of the "*Reformed Churches of Helvetia, Belgia, Geneva, with others,*" and of their "*true and lawful ministries,*" set forth "*by the authority of His Majesty's royal letters-patent*" and "*by the Lords the Reverend Bishops.*" This declaration was further endorsed by "*both Universities*" and "*by all the learned, both of our Clergy and Laity, throughout our dominions.*"

1662 Official declaration of the Revisers that *no doctrinal changes* were introduced by them and that they *endorsed* the former attitude of the Church in all essentials —Preface—Pr. Book.

Act of Uniformity—14 Carol II.—officially recognizes "*the Foreign Reformed Churches,*" and while restricting the extent of the former practice, specifically

Fleetwood, Strype, Bancroft (and even) Laud, Willet, Bilson, Sutcliffe, Mason, Field, Babington, Burnet, Fr. White, Thos. White, Davenant, Baxter, Rainolds, Hall, Cosin, Prideaux, Cudworth, Tindal, Stillingfleet, Usher, Bramhall, Tillotson, Chillingworth, etc. etc.

ly provides (§ 15) for the continued admission of non-episcopally ordained ministers under certain conditions.

New prayer officially set forth identifying "*the Catholic Church*" with "*all who profess and call themselves Christians,*" so including non-episcopal bodies.

Orders of Deacon and Priest *only* declared to be "*necessary*" . . . "in the Church of Christ"—Ordinal—Rubric.

Generally admitted that no further amendments or changes have been made since 1662 and that our present Protestant Episcopal Prayer Book and formularies are based upon the Pr. Book and Formularies of the Restoration.

1789 The Protestant Episcopal Church officially asserts that She is "far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship." Pr. Book—Preface—referring to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church of England as set forth in 1662.

The Protestant Episcopal Church formally recognizes "the different religious denominations of Christians in these States" as "*Churches.*"

IV

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED

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WE come now to consider certain objections which we know will be urged against the foregoing argument.

Objection (1)

In answer to a little work which the present writer published some years ago on this subject,[1] the following criticism was made by several prominent clergymen. We will admit, said they, that the Church of England has never formally pronounced non-episcopal ordination *invalid;* but we will not admit that she has ever formally pronounced it *valid. She has simply refused to pass judgment upon the matter one way or another.* Our answer to this is brief.

First—The assumption that she has refused to pass judgment one way or another is clearly at variance with historic fact; and

Second—If it were true, *it would be disastrous for the "Catholic" party to make such an admission.*

Proof

First Proposition. That this is manifestly untrue

[1] *Apostolic Succession and the Problem of Unity*, University Press, Sewanee, Tenn.

will be evident from the following official acts already cited:

(a) Archbishop Grindal's official license to John Morrison, April 6, 1582—"approving and ratifying the form of his (your) Ordination . . . according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland," which Church was Presbyterian.

(b) Formal recognition of the validity of the Presbyterian ordination of Scottish candidates for Episcopal Consecration given by Archbishop Bancroft when acting for, and in the name of, the Church of England, and the subsequent ratification of his act by the actual Consecration administered by the Church of England *on these terms.*

(c) Official acknowledgment of the inherent power of the Presbyterate to ordain formally made by the Church of England when subscribing to the 2d Resolution of the Assembly, by which the churches of England and Scotland were united.

Other official acts already referred to (some of which will doubtless occur to our readers) might be cited, but these are sufficient to prove the falsity of the above assumption.

Second Proposition. That it would be disastrous for the "Catholic" party to admit this, if it were true, is again easily established, since to say that the Church has never formally pronounced non-episcopal ordination to be *invalid* is synonymous with admitting that she has never pronounced Episcopal ordination as *alone* or *exclusively* valid—*ergo*, it is to say that she has never asserted that Episcopal ordination is

necessary or *essential* to the *being* of the Church, *which is the whole point of their argument.* It will not do to assert, therefore, that the Church has simply assumed this negative position, for *that is, in itself, a fatal admission.* There are some propositions towards which a negative attitude is simply impossible, *where silence itself signifies a positive attitude.* It will be easily seen, therefore, that such an objection, even if it were true, is of absolutely no value whatever to our opponents, but is, on the contrary, a most complete, though unintentional, admission of the truth of our whole argument.

Objection (2)

Perhaps there is no greater commentary upon the logic employed by many of the writers of our ordinary Church Manuals in defending their view of the *necessity* of the Episcopate than the glib way in which they point to many passages in the writings of the Reformers, or in certain official utterances of the Church herself, which uphold the *Divine Right of Episcopal Government*, or the fact of an *Historic Succession* from the days of the Apostles. Yet who can be so blind as not to see that the mere *right* of the Church to perpetuate the Episcopate on the ground that it possesses *Divine Authority* and has come down to us from the days of the Apostles, is a proposition altogether distinct from the claim that it is the *exclusive* channel of such Divine Authority, and that *no other* form of Government can possess

such authority. Yet whenever any one attacks the theory that the Church of England has ever claimed that the Episcopate is *absolutely essential* to the validity of the Sacraments, and the *being* of the Church, he is immediately met with the triumphant retort that the Preface to the Ordinal plainly asserts the *authority* of the Episcopate, and its historic continuity from the days of the Apostles; that Cranmer's *Sermon on the Keys* contains a like defense of this most ancient and Catholic Institution; and that numberless passages can be adduced from the writings of the Reformers to the same effect. Why, what bearing have any of these facts upon the point at issue? Is it possible that our critics cannot see any distinction between the claim that Episcopal Government is *legitimate*, and the further claim that it is the *one and only form* of government that is legitimate; or can honestly claim to *refute* our contention that the Church of England nowhere asserts the *necessity* of the Episcopate to the very *being* of the Church by merely pointing out the truism that she has unquestionably defended the Episcopate as a *legitimate* institution—existing *by Divine Right?* Yet this is precisely the kind of logic with which our popular apologists vanquish the objections here urged. When we assert that the Church nowhere declares that the Episcopate is the *exclusive* channel through which the Divine Authority is transmitted, we are solemnly informed that the Ordinal itself explicitly asserts the Divine Authority of the Episcopate, the Reformers repeatedly maintain it as a fact, whence,

of course, it follows inevitably that the Church has declared that *no other* form of Government exists by Divine Authority, and all non-episcopal bodies are nothing more than mere human societies. According to this logic, because all horses are animals, it should, of course, be obvious that there are no animals which are not horses. Now this kind of argument won't do. If the writer did not believe that Episcopal government was divinely sanctioned, he would not be a member of the Episcopal Church, to say nothing of being a clergyman thereof, nor can he very well understand how any Episcopal Church can fail to defend or justify its episcopal form of government as valid, and its acts as possessing Divine Authority. It would be simply amazing if the Anglican Reformers should have taken such pains to preserve the Episcopate, and not have defended it as of Divine Authority. It will not do to obscure the real issue before us in the present instance, by harping upon such well-known, self-evident, but wholly irrelevant facts. Of course Cranmer defended Episcopacy in his Catechism—defended it as an institution *possessing Divine authority*. Yet where does he assert therein (or anywhere else, for that matter,) that it is *the one and only* form of ecclesiastical government that has the sanction of our Lord and His Apostles? Not only, therefore, was it natural that the Reformers should defend the form of government which they had adopted, but when the Puritans in attacking the Church went so far as to say that Episcopacy *was contrary to the Word of God*, and that no form of

government was justifiable in the sight of God but the *Presbyterian*, they were compelled to assert in no uncertain language the *Divine Right* of Episcopacy to exist. While they did this, while they asserted in clear and unmistakable terms that Episcopacy existed *by Divine Right*, they never went so far as to assert that Presbyterianism *did not*. If fact, that was one of the striking differences between the broad liberality of the Anglican Reformer and the narrow-minded position of his opponent. While he insisted that his own form of government was as much sanctioned by God as the Presbyterian, he did not deny that the latter possessed Divine Authority. On the contrary, it was the Puritan, not the Anglican, that resorted to this "exclusive" hypothesis. As Keble himself tells us, "it is enough, with them [*i. e.* the Reformers] to show that the government by Archbishops and Bishops is *ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its exclusive claim, or to connect the Succession with validity of the Holy Sacraments*" (Preface to Hooker's *Works*). It was left to the Tractarians and "Catholics" of a later age to apply the old "exclusive" argument of the Puritans regarding Presbyterianism in favor of Episcopacy. This is exactly what the Reformers did *not* do. It will be seen, therefore, that it is pure sophistry to quote these many passages in the works of the Reformers wherein Episcopacy is defended as an institution possessing *Divine Authority* and *Catholic precedent*, as evidence that the writers did not admit the validity of Presbyterian ordination and government.

That will not do. Of course, the Church of England defends Episcopacy as of Divine Right, but where does she assert that it is *absolutely necessary to the being of the Church and the Ministry?* On the contrary, we read in the Ordinal that both the *Diaconate* and the *Priesthood* are "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ," but where do we read anything about the Episcopate being "*necessary?*" Nay, more—*exclusively* necessary? Why, the very fact that the Church here officially proclaims both the Diaconate and the Presbyterate to be "necessary," but has nothing to say about the "necessity" of the Episcopate, even if it proves nothing else, at least proves that the Episcopate is not *exclusively* necessary to the existence of the Church. *This, in itself, settles the whole question.* It will be seen, therefore, that the mere fact that Cranmer, and the Reformers generally, have much to say regarding the Divine Authority of the Episcopate, and, in answer to the Puritan charge that Presbyterian government *alone* had the warrant of Holy Scripture, were ever ready to affirm that the Episcopate had *equal* claims to Divine Authority, has no bearing whatever upon the issue before us. It is a far cry from such a modest, reasonable claim for the *legitimacy* of the Episcopate, to the modern exclusive assumption that it is not only legitimate, but *the only* legitimate form of ecclesiastical government—the *only* one possessing Divine Authority. Cranmer, indeed, stood for the defence of the Episcopate, but he likewise stood for the fact that Bishop and Presbyter were *one and the*

same Order, and were not even distinguishable "*offices*" in the New Testament.[1] It was for this very reason that he stoutly contended that *both* possessed Divine Authority, and the Episcopate could not be discriminated against by the Puritans. It was only against the bitter attacks of this latter party, who were as extreme for *exclusive* Presbyterianism, as our "Catholic" friends are to-day extreme for *exclusive* Episcopacy, that these claims for the Divine Right of Episcopacy were set forth. The fact is, *both* are legitimate, *both* possess Divine Authority, but neither one *to the exclusion* of the other. Episcopacy, therefore, must be defended by us to-day, not upon the grounds of its *absolute necessity* to the *being* of the Church, as though it were the one and *only* form of Government that God is willing to recognize (so unchurching all our non-episcopal brethren) but upon the grounds of *legitimacy* and also *expediency*—upon the ground that it is the only form of Government that can really claim to have been practically universal or catholic for fifteen hundred years. It is the only form that is to-day recognized by the vast majority of the Christian world. It is the only form, therefore, that, for purely practical reasons, there is

[1] It is well known that Cranmer held this opinion in common with his fellow Reformers. It will suffice here, however, to cite but one passage in proof thereof. To the 10th of the Seventeen Questions presented to the Commission of Divines (1540) to wit: "Whether Bishops or Priests *were first*," etc., he replies: "The Bishop and the Priest were at one time, and *were not two things, but both one office, in the beginning of Christ's Religion.*" (Burnet's *Hist. Reform.*, vol. iv., p. 114.)

any likelihood that the Christian world would ultimately agree upon. It is the form, that because of its antiquity and universality, and as manifesting the continuity of the Church from the beginning, it would be not only unwise, but *wrong*, to overthrow, save for the weightiest and the most necessary considerations.

We conclude, then, by saying that it is utterly useless for our opponents to urge the many passages which occur in the writing of the Reformers, and even in the Ordinal and the official formularies of the Church herself, *upholding the Divine Authority of Bishops*, and requiring all Clergy of *this* Church to submit to ordination at their hands. It is utterly useless to urge such passages as proving that the Reformers, and the Church which they reorganized, admitted therein and thereby that *no other* form of government or ordination was valid in the sight of God. Those who indulge in such arguments either do not understand the question at all, or else they are guilty of arrant sophistry, for it is simply impossible for any one to argue logically that the one proposition implies the other. In short, we will dismiss the whole matter by merely saying that if there are any who are really conscientious in thinking that the admission that "all horses are animals," carries with it, as a necessary corollary, the conclusion that "there are no animals that are not horses," they are welcome to hold their opinions. We will certainly not endeavor to disturb them in the serenity of their faith.

There is another argument which has been frequently urged of late in the hope of undermining that obvious difficulty which confronts "Catholics" in attempting to defend their theory of the limited extent of the Church Universal, which we must now consider. It is quite true, say they, that all who belong to these non-episcopal bodies are, *as individuals*, to be regarded as members of the Catholic Church because of their Baptism (which is, itself, incorporation into the Body or Church of Christ), but nevertheless, their organizations *as organizations* are not to be considered parts of that Church, but are nothing more than mere *human*, or *man-made* societies. Thus, in an article entitled "The Holy Catholic Church" contained in the last *Living Church Annual*, published for the year 1914, we meet with the following expressions regarding these Protestant "Sects." They are "composed in large part of persons who, being baptized, are members of the Catholic Church, *but whose organizations form no part of that Church and are in organized opposition to it.* These bodies are termed *Protestants;* and when the name *Church* is applied to any group of them, it is to be understood only in a subordinate sense, these being voluntary organizations of men banded together for religious purposes on a common platform or Confession of Faith, *but not to be esteemed corporately as branches of the historic Catholic Church*" (p. 58). Again, "In so far as members of these Protestant denominations have been duly baptized, they are also commonly reckoned to be members of

the Holy Catholic Church, *though not loyally rendering obedience to it; but their various organizations, of which there are several hundred, are to be reckoned only as voluntary associations of Christian people*" (p. 69). Of all the objections commonly met with, this is perhaps the most subtle, as the sophistry underlying it is not obvious on first inspection. It will be seen at the outset that the gist of the above objection is simply this: Protestant *individuals* are members of the Catholic Church, but Protestant *bodies* are not. We recognize the *individuals*, but not their *organizations* as *parts* or *branches* of the Catholic Church. Very well then, the objection is against *organizations*, not *individuals*. That is to say, there is something in the *form* or *type of organization* which is *vital* or *essential* to its being regarded as a true Church, and those organizations which lack this particular form or type thus *essential* to the *being* of the Church, are, of course, *ipso facto* excluded from the organized Church Catholic. The issue, then, is clear-cut: either the particular *form* or *type* which is lacking to the Protestant Bodies is *essential* or *not essential* to the *being* of the Church. If it is *not* essential, then, of course, its omission by these bodies is of no particular consequence, and it would be wholly unnecessary to mention it in the discussion. If, on the other hand, it is *essential*, then, of course, its omission by these bodies to-day is fraught with fearful consequences, consequences of a *vital* nature, and it is only right that the fact should be emphasized. Now, as this last position is the one assumed by our

"Catholic" friends, we ask, *Why* is this particular form of organization *vital* or *essential?* It cannot be vital merely because it is historic. There are many *features* of the organization of the ancient Catholic Church whose omission to-day, though we doubtless deplore, we do not regard as *vital* or absolutely *essential* to the *being* of the Church. The use of vestments, a fixed ritual, a Church Year, etc., are all of them *historic, characteristic* features of the ancient Catholic Church, but the omission of these things in themselves does not deprive these bodies of membership in the Catholic Church. What form or feature, then, of ancient catholic organization is to be accounted *vital* or *essential*, and *for what reason is it essential?* Obviously, the only form or feature of catholic organization which can logically be claimed to be *essential* to the *being* of the Church (if any form or feature be essential at all) is that form or feature whose omission overthrows the *fundamental* object for which the Church exists, viz.: *the salvation of human souls through vital union and communion with the Life-giving Head of the Church.* If there is any form of organization, whose omission causes this fearful result, the cutting off of human souls from vital union and communion with Christ, that form of organization is unquestionably *essential* to the very *being* of the Church. On the other hand, if there be *no form of mere organization* that can effect this awful result, it is equally obvious that there is no form of organization, however *important* for practical purposes, however stimulating to the *well*-being of

the Church, however *ancient* or however *catholic* that can possibly be regarded as *essential* to the *being* of the Church. Is the Episcopate then essential to the *being* of the Church, or is it not? Does its omission debar any faithful soul from membership in the Catholic Church, from union and communion with the Divine Head of the Church, or from hope of Salvation in a world to come? Assuredly not, for we have just been told by the same writer that these Protestant individuals are, "being baptized . . . members of the Catholic Church"—*i. e.*, members of Christ's Body, with the Eternal Life of that Divine Body in them. If by Baptism they have thus been made "members of Christ," so by the same Baptism they have also been made "children of God, *and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven*," hence *of Life Eternal*. If then, secure in their membership in the Catholic Church, secure in their spiritual union with Christ, secure in their hope of *Eternal Salvation*, it is evident that all that is *necessary* for their security, all that is *absolutely essential* for their Spiritual Life and Salvation is already assured *under the forms they now possess*. Wherein, then, can this particular form which they do *not possess*, be regarded as *essential? If it be not essential to the salvation of any individual Soul within the Church, how can it be essential to the Church itself?* If this form of government or organization be not essential to the salvation of *the people* living under it, *to what* is it essential? The only object of any form of government or organization is to secure certain ends, either necessary or desirable,

for the existence of the people living under it. If, therefore, any one form can be said to be necessary or essential at all, it can only be because the end which it secures is absolutely necessary or essential to the existence of the people living under it. *In short, if forms of government or organization be not necessary for the individuals that live under them, they are not necessary at all. No form is necessary merely for form's sake.* We repeat, therefore, that if no one form of government can be shown to be absolutely necessary to secure what is alone absolutely necessary to the salvation of individual souls, viz.: their admission into the Church Catholic, their vital union and communion with the Divine Head and their consequent eternal existence in a world to come, it is perfectly clear that no one form of government or organization is necessary or essential in the Church at all. The utmost that can be said for this particular form is that it possesses many advantages of an *unessential*, but, nevertheless, of a *very desirable* nature which, though not needed to insure the actual *being* or *existence* of the Church and its members, is none the less very important to insure their *well-being*, a proposition which, it is needless to say, we would be the very last to dispute. We affirm, therefore, that if any one form of government or organization is necessary in the Catholic Church at all, it is necessary for this purpose, to secure the salvation of souls, the sole purpose for which the Church was established. Hence, if necessary to the Church at all, *it is necessary to the existence of every Christian*

man, and *vice versa*, if not necessary to the existence of every Christian man, it is not necessary to the existence of the Church. There is no other possible position to be taken. Only those, therefore, who are prepared to show that the absence of the Episcopate invalidates the spiritual life and safety of the *individual* men and women who worship in these non-episcopal bodies, can logically maintain that it is *essential* to the *being* of the Church. To those, therefore, who are unwilling to take this extreme position, who shrink, very naturally, from the awful consequence involved, who, in other words, *dare* not assert that these persons are actually *cut off from the hope of Salvation;* for them to assert that the Episcopate is *necessary* to the *being* of the Church, is simply absurd. The two hypotheses are mutually exclusive. One may hold the one or the other, but he cannot hold both. As proof that this inference is unavoidable, and that the "Catholic" theory of the Episcopate implies this and nothing less than this, we have only to inform our readers that the *great leaders* of the movement recognized this fact years ago, and hesitated not to admit it. In short, it is only the *unphilosophic* "Catholic," the man who does no thinking for himself, but accepts the opinions of his party ready-made, and without question, that imagines that the High Church view of the *necessity* of the Episcopate to the *being* of the Church can be made to harmonize with the liberal opinion that the members of non-episcopal bodies are, even *as individuals*, in true, spiritual union with Christ, and, thus, secure

in the hope of Salvation. Their own leaders think nothing of the kind, for the real theologians of the movement have long ago told us, in so many words, that the conclusion is unavoidable that if *necessary to the being* of the Church, the Episcopate must be *necessary to the existence of every Christian man, the Salvation of every individual Soul.* To show that we are not misrepresenting them, we will here submit a few quotations from their works. "The main points, insisted on by them [the Tractarians], according to their own accounts, are the following: The doctrine of Apostolic Succession as a rule of practice; that is, First, that the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ is *essential* to the maintenance of Christian life and hope *in each individual.* Second, that it is conveyed to *individual* Christians, *only by the hands of the Successors of the Apostles and their delegates.* Third, that the Successors of the Apostles are those who are descended in a direct line from them, by the imposition of hands; and that the delegates of these are the respective Presbyters whom each has commissioned. . . . The following memorandum, drawn up by Mr. Newman, one of the most distinguished members of the School, explains more fully the original intention and peculiar doctrines of the Tractarians:

"(1) That *the only way of Salvation* is the partaking of the Body and Blood of our sacrificed Redeemer.

"(2) That the means, expressly authorized by Him for that purpose, is the Holy Sacrament of His Supper.

"(3) That the security, by Him no less expressly authorized, for the continuance and due application of that Sacrament, is *the Apostolical Commission of the Bishops*, and, *under them*, the Presbyters of the Church," etc. Again, "'A Church,' says the British Critic, their principal organ in England, 'is such only by virtue of that from which it obtains its *unity*—and it obtains its unity only from that in which it *centres*, viz.: *the Bishop*. And, therefore, all its teaching must be through the medium of the Episcopate, as is beautifully expressed in the Act of the Synod of Bethlehem, which the Eastern Church transmitted to the non-juring Bishops. Therefore we declare that this hath ever been the doctrine of the Eastern Church, *that the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the Church that without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church, nor any Christian man; no, not so much as in name. For he is, as Successor of the Apostles, . . . the source of and fountain, as it were, of all those Mysteries of the Catholic Church, through which we obtain Salvation* (i. e., *the Sacraments*). *And we hold the necessity of a Bishop to be as great in the Church as the breath of life is in man, or as the sun is in the system of creation*,'" etc. (Schmucker's *Hist. of All Religions*, Art. Tractarians). From these quotations, it is perfectly plain that the great leaders of the Tractarian movement based their whole theory as to the *necessity* of the Episcopate to the *being* of the Church upon the ground that it was necessary to *the Salvation of each individual Soul* within the Church, and to any one who reasons at all on the subject it is perfectly

clear that this is the only basis upon which the claim can be defended at all. If necessary at all, it is necessary for this reason. *It cannot be necessary merely for Form's sake.* It is a perfectly plain proposition, then: Men, *as individuals*, depend upon the Life-giving Sacraments for their spiritual existence or Salvation, and these Life-giving Sacraments depend for their validity, in turn, upon their administration under the authority of the Bishops, hence the Episcopate is absolutely essential to the *being* of the Church, because absolutely essential to the *spiritual existence* or *Salvation* of *each individual* in the Church. Now this may be true or untrue but one thing is absolutely certain. If true—the *official* position of this Church is false; or, if not true, the view of the Tractarians and their present day disciples is false. For it is beyond all question that *the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church after her*, has *officially* declared in no uncertain terms that the individual members of the non-episcopal bodies *are not* cut off from the Body of Christ (and so denied the hope of Salvation) because of their lack of the Episcopate, but on the contrary, are at this very moment, simply *by virtue of their Baptism*, to say nothing more (for even Lay Baptism is valid, in the sight of this Church), *in vital union and communion with the Divine Head of the Church, and so secure in the hope of Salvation in the Body or Church of Christ.* The Church has officially declared, in other words, that they are by virtue of their *valid* Baptism (if nothing more) "*members of Christ,*

children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven," that is *inheritors of Salvation.* Two conclusions, then, follow inevitably from these facts:

(1) That the true, *logical* position of the Tractarians which contends for the necessity of the Episcopate upon the ground that it is *necessary to the personal salvation of each individual Soul,* is in plain, irreconcilable conflict with the official view of the Church, which has time and again recognized *the individual baptized* members of non-episcopal bodies, *as living members of Christ's Body secure in the hope of Salvation, despite the absence of an Episcopate.* And that

(2) The *illogical* position of the average "Catholic" to-day which contends for the absolute necessity of the Episcopate to the being of the Church, while simultaneously admitting that the *baptized individuals* living under a *non*-episcopal government must none the less be reckoned true, living members of the Body of Christ secure in the hope of Salvation, is even worse than illogical, because a transparent absurdity. It is nothing less than the hopeless attempt to straddle a contradiction. We repeat, that this last position, unfortunately espoused by so able a writer as the Editor of the *Living Church,* is not only a contradiction of reason, but contrary to true, "catholic" doctrine. Either you must go the whole length of the Tractarians, and stand for the inevitable consequences which flow from their fundamental principles, or you must repudiate these principles themselves. There is no half-way ground to

stand on. Any attempt to straddle the contradiction implied in the belief that Episcopacy is *absolutely necessary* to the being of the Church, and yet that individual men and women can be saved *in the Catholic Church* without it, is sheer nonsense. The true philosophers of the movement saw this plainly, at the very outset, and were never guilty of such manifest inconsistency, but boldly stood by their principles, declaring that the Episcopate was "*so necessary in the Church, that without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church,* NOR ANY CHRISTIAN MAN; NO, NOT SO MUCH AS IN NAME." If you really believe then that the Episcopate is *essential* to the *being* of the Church, there is but one logical and consistent attitude that you can assume. It is briefly this: *No Bishop—No Church—No Sacraments—No Spiritual Life—No Christian man whatsoever.* For it is perfectly plain, that if the Holy Catholic Church does not, and cannot exist without Bishops, then where there are no Bishops, there is no Church, and where there is no Church, there are no Sacraments, and where there is neither Church nor Sacraments, there are, of course, no Christian men. For a Christian man is one who hath union and communion with the Body of Christ, which Body is the Church. Where, therefore, the Holy Catholic Church is not, there Christian men are not, and *vice versa.* We re-affirm, therefore, that it is impossible for any man logically to assert that he believes that the members of non-episcopal bodies are, as *individuals*, members of the Holy Catholic Church, and simultaneously to affirm that

Episcopal Government is absolutely necessary to the existence of the Catholic Church. The two statements are contradictory. Finally, we are well aware that there are a few who will seek refuge behind all this again in the somewhat vague assumption that they mean only that the Episcopate is necessary to the existence of the *Visible* Church—not the *Invisible;* and if they are disposed to intrench themselves in this position, rather than surrender unconditionally, we will accept the challenge, and attack them in this last citadel also. The assumption means, if it means anything at all, that it is not to be doubted but that there are individuals who are in real *spiritual* union and communion with the Divine Head of the Church, but who, nevertheless, have never joined the *true visibly organized Body* of the Church. Such persons are indeed "members of the *Mystical* Body of Christ" —the *Invisible* Church, to which belong all the company of the redeemed in Heaven, but with this Church, whose bounds are necessarily unknown to us, we are not here concerned. We are speaking not of the *Mystical* or *Invisible* Body, but of the *Visible* Body, the Church which is *formally organized* and *manifest* here in the world. We assert that to the *being* or *existence* of this *Visible* Church the Episcopate is an *absolute essential.* Now our answer to this is brief. Is not *Baptism* the "*outward and visible sign*" of incorporation into this *Visible* Church of God on earth, and is not Baptism valid independently of all episcopal administration? Has not the Church *officially*, and even our "Catholic" brethren reluc-

tantly, but squarely, admitted that Protestants have, by Baptism, been incorporated into the *Visible* Church Catholic *without the aid of the Episcopate?* Is not this admitting that the *Visible* Church Catholic does here and now exist in many lands, with thousands of men and women in living, vital, *visible* communion with it, *and that without the aid of the Episcopate?* Turn it or twist it how you will, there is no escape from the inevitable conclusion, the Episcopate is not necessary to the existence of the *Visible* Church Catholic, nor to the vital union therewith of any individual soul.

But aside from this consideration of the matter, it is nothing less than absurd for any man to deny the plain, historic fact that *the Church of England has repeatedly recognized the non-episcopal bodies as Churches.* She has not only recognized them in general terms, but she has recognized *particular* non-episcopal bodies specifically—calling them *by name* (*e. g.* the Church of Scotland, Canon 55). She has recognized their Sacraments as valid (*e. g.* Patent of Edward VI., 1550; License given John Morrison, 1582, etc.). She has recognized their Ministries (*e. g.* License given John Morrison; Bancroft's *Official Recog. Scotch Presbyters;* Practice of the Church for over a hundred years, etc.). She, has, in short, given them every formal recognition that she has given other *Episcopal* bodies. Nay, more, she has gone even farther, for in recognizing the *Roman* Church she has emphasized the fact that, though a Church, it is nevertheless a corrupt and

erring Church (*e. g.* Article XIX.), whereas in recognizing the non-episcopal bodies, she has repeatedly dwelt upon the fact that they are not *erring*, but "*Reformed* Churches" (*e. g.* XIV. Carol. II., Sec. 15, etc.; *Synop. Papismi*, vol. vi., p. 368). Thus she pronounces them Churches of a far purer type than the *Roman* Church. There is not the least doubt that the Reformers, while admitting all to be *true* or *valid* branches of the Catholic Church, yet regarded the Protestant Churches of Scotland and the Continent as purer and less corrupt branches than either the Greek or the Roman. Furthermore, there is another point that must needs be emphasized to silence any that may be disposed to cavil about specific acts and utterances, viz.: *all the foregoing propositions stand or fall together.* That is to say, there is no denying one, without denying all, and no admitting one, without admitting all. For example, there is no such thing as admitting that the Church of England recognized the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as *a true Church*, and yet simultaneously denying that she admitted the validity of its *non-episcopal Ministry* or *the validity of its Sacraments, both Baptism and Holy Communion.* No such thing as admitting that she recognized this *non*-episcopal Church as a *true* Church of God, a true branch of the Catholic Church, and yet affirming that the Episcopate, which this Church did *not* have, is absolutely *necessary* to the *being* of a Church. No contending that the Sacraments are an *essential* mark of the Church, and yet affirming that in recognizing the

Church of Scotland to be a *true Church*, she has never admitted that *the Sacraments of said Church are valid.* If she has pronounced any non-episcopal body whatever to be a true branch of the Catholic Church, she has, therein and thereby, recognized the validity of its Ministry and Sacraments, *and has, simultaneously, admitted that the Episcopate is not necessary to the existence of a Church.* Or, again, if she has recognized the Sacraments of any non-episcopal body as valid, she has therein and thereby recognized the parties at whose hands they have been administered *as validly ordained ministers of the Church Catholic*, and the body, thus possessed of a true Ministry and valid Sacraments, to be *a genuine Church.* Yet again, if she has pronounced the Ministry of any non-episcopal body valid, she has therein and thereby pronounced *its Sacraments valid*, and *the body itself a true branch of the Catholic Church.* It will not do, therefore, to split hairs on the meaning of any particular utterance with regard to some one or other of the above-named matters, for the recognition of any one feature carries with it the recognition of *all the rest.* If you admit, therefore, that she has formally recognized the Church of Scotland, or any other non-episcopal body, as a true Church, you are compelled to admit that she has recognized both its Ministry and its Sacraments as valid, or else you must deny that either Ministry or Sacraments are necessary to a Church at all, and in either case, you are admitting that the Episcopate is not necessary to the existence of the Church. Finally, if any further

argument is needed, we will throw the official utterances of the Church into one terse syllogism:

She has officially declared that "the *Visible* Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and *the Sacraments* be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." (Art. XIX.)

She has officially declared that the non-episcopal Church of Scotland is a true part of "*Christ's Holy Catholic Church*" (Bidding Prayer, Canon 55).

Ergo—The non-episcopal Church of Scotland is "a Congregation of faithful men, in which *the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.*" And, we may add, that since the Sacraments of the Church of Scotland here referred to were not ministered under Episcopal authority, it follows that such Episcopal Authority was not regarded as among "*those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.*"

It will be seen, then, that, from every point of view, the "Catholic" position is untenable. Nothing short of a miracle of logic could render their views harmonious with the official views of this Church. *They clearly do not represent the Church at all.* That they are entitled to hold what doctrinal views they please upon the Church, the Episcopate, or any other matter, goes without saying, but that they can justly maintain that their opinions represent the *official* opinions of *this* Church, is simply out of the question.

Hence, if the Church yields to their suggestion to change its name, and consents to adopt the title, *The American Catholic Church*, therein and thereby *officially unchurching* all the non-episcopal bodies round about her, she can do so only by repudiating all her former principles. *In short, the proposal to change the name of the Church, as it stands, is nothing more or less than a proposal to change its foundation principles.*

V

DO "CATHOLICS" REPRESENT THE CHURCH?

V

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WE have now shown, as we believe, conclusively, that the present wide-spread opinion that the Episcopate is *necessary* to the *being* of the Church, with its inevitable corollary that the non-episcopal bodies form no part of the Holy Catholic Church, and that their individual members are cut off from the hope of Salvation, because, as Bishop Hobart expressed it, "*cut off from Communion with Christ*," is a theory wholly repugnant to the *official doctrine* of the Church of England and our own Protestant Episcopal Church. Our people should not be misled by it. We wish to emphasize this the more inasmuch as there are many moderate Churchmen, far removed from the extreme position of the "Catholic" party, who have nevertheless been prevailed upon to accept this exclusive theory of the Episcopate. They accept it without understanding its true significance, or appreciating the dangerous consequences which flow from it. We wish to say, therefore, as clearly and emphatically as we know how, that the theory which holds the Episcopate to be

absolutely essential to the Church, so that without it no Church can exist, the theory which excludes all the non-episcopal bodies from the Church Catholic, and so justifies the title *The American Catholic Church* as the logical title for this Communion, because the only *Episcopal* organization *native to America* since its first settlement by Europeans, is a theory which by its very nature necessarily implies the *unchurching* of all other Protestants *as individuals*. It denounces them as "*cut off from communion with Christ,*" *hence cut off from the one and only source of Eternal Life, and so denied the hope of Life Eternal, denied the hope of Salvation.* It means this, and nothing less than this, for the plain reason that if the Episcopate be not *necessary* or *essential* to the Church on this ground, there is no other ground that can be discovered for asserting its *necessity*. You may, indeed, speak much of its *importance* in the Church, you may even conceive it to be *necessary* or *essential* to the *well-being* of the Church, but when you go further than this, and assert its necessity to the very *being* of the Church because that without a Bishop there can be no valid Ministry and no valid Sacraments, you mean and can mean but one thing, viz.: that it is necessary to *individual* incorporation into the Church of Christ, to personal union and communion with Christ, to personal reception of the Life by the Soul, hence necessary to personal Salvation. Moreover, the best proof that we are not misrepresenting the logical consequences of the theory is the fact that its own greatest expounders have

given precisely this interpretation of it. The Episcopate is necessary, they tell us, because "the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ is *essential to the maintenance of Christian life and hope* IN EACH INDIVIDUAL," and "it [the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ] is conveyed to INDIVIDUAL Christians ONLY BY THE HANDS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES AND THEIR DELEGATES" (Schmucker's *Hist. All Religions*, p. 291). "*We hold the necessity of a Bishop to be as great in the Church as the breath of life is in man, or as the sun is in the system of creation*"—"*the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the Church, that without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church*, NOR ANY CHRISTIAN MAN; NO, NOT SO MUCH AS IN NAME" (*British Critic*). Says Bishop Hobart, "Where the Gospel is proclaimed, communion with the Church by the participation of its ordinances, at the hands of *the duly authorized Priesthood*, is the INDISPENSABLE CONDITION OF SALVATION" (*Companion to the Altar*, p. 202). And again, "Whoever is in communion with the Bishop, the supreme governor of the Church upon earth, is in communion with the Head of it; and WHOEVER IS NOT IN COMMUNION WITH THE BISHOP, IS THEREBY CUT OFF FROM COMMUNION WITH CHRIST" (*A Companion to the Festivals and Fasts*, p. 59). If this be not a clear, unequivocal assertion that the Episcopate is *necessary to the Salvation of each individual Soul*, we should like to know what is? And if this does not mean that the members of non-episcopal bodies are not *as individuals* cut off from the Catholic Church (the

significance of their Baptism to the contrary notwithstanding[1]), "*cut off from communion with Christ,*" and *so cut off from hope of Personal Salvation*, we should like to know what it does or can mean? In short, according to their own statements, it is as plain as any fact can be that the Episcopate is regarded as necessary to the Church, because necessary to the validity of those Sacraments which alone can give Salvation to *each individual Soul.* Hence it is necessary to the *being* of the Church because necessary to the *being* of *every Christian man.* To deny

[1] This is only another instance of the illogical and wholly inconsistent position of "Catholics." They are forced to admit that Lay Baptism (to say nothing of Baptism at the hands of Ministers of Non-Episcopal Churches) is *valid*, and yet in spite of this admission they normally speak of the Episcopate as necessary to the validity of the "*Sacraments*"—(*plural*)—thus including Baptism. We are not responsible, though, for the inconsistency of the statement that "Catholics" assert that Episcopacy is necessary to the validity of the "*Sacraments*" which we have frequently made in these pages. It remains a fact that they do make just this statement, despite their admissions to the contrary. The same writer who has given us so much valuable testimony as to the validity of Lay Baptism, nevertheless asserts elsewhere: "The Catholic Church has ever held this doctrine, that *true ministrations of Grace depend on Episcopal Ministries*, and has always regarded all other ministries, whether assumed to be conferred by Presbyters, undertaken at will, or bestowed by a call from the Congregation, *to be wholly invalid.* . . . *Every Mission of their hands* is, therefore, *absolutely null and void*, according to Scripture, Authority, Apostolic practice, and the unbroken tradition of Eighteen Centuries" (Blunt, *Annot. Bk. Com. Pr.*).

Note.—"*Every Mission of their hands*" is "*null and void.*" Does not this necessarily include *Baptism? If not, why not?* "The Apostolical Succession of the Ministry is Essential to the right administration of the *Sacraments*" (plural). *Ch. Handy Dict.*

that it means this, and to talk about its being necessary to the existence of *organized bodies* or *branches* of the Church only, is to talk sheer nonsense. Aside from the fact that the statement means nothing (as we have already shown) it is flatly denied by the very persons who make it. What "Catholic" will admit that the Holy Communion is not necessary to the existence of each human soul, or that it can be administered *validly* by any persons who are not either "the Successors of the Apostles" or "their delegates"? Yet to deny the validity of the Sacrament when administered under other conditions, is to assert that the Episcopate is necessary to the spiritual life of each individual soul, however we may attempt to obscure the fact by harping upon the meaningless assertion that it is necessary to the existence of *corporate branches* of the Church only. While it is demonstrable that this is the real meaning of the whole theory, yet the most amazing feature of the entire problem under consideration is the fact that so many *moderate* Churchmen, of the most broad and liberal opinions, have allowed themselves to be misled into believing that this purely Tractarian or "Catholic" theory of the Episcopate is the *orthodox, official* teaching of *the Church of England* handed down from the days of the Reformation. Not only does a most superficial acquaintance with the works of the English Reformers clearly refute the idea, but "Catholics" themselves assert that the Articles and other official formularies of the Church are the products of an "*uncatholic* age," and that

their (the "Catholics' ") avowed object is "*to correct the mistakes of the Reformation.*" How Churchmen can possibly be misled into imagining that such a party, avowedly hostile to the fundamental principles of the men who framed the official formularies of this Church, can represent in their doctrinal views and practices the real, official teachings of this Church or can believe that their proposal to Change the Name of the Church, does not signify any fundamental change of doctrinal position or that that theory of the Episcopate upon which alone such a Change of Name can be justified is the true, official doctrine of the Episcopate for which the Church has ever stood, seems to us well nigh incomprehensible. To those of us who from our earliest infancy have been taught to speak with pride and veneration of the men who drafted our Prayer Book, Articles, and other formularies, who have ever held in sacred reverence the names of those who perished in the flames of Smithfield, believing them to be accounted worthy along with Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, and many another confessor of those ancient days, of the sacred name of Martyr, ay, to those of us who listening to the dying words of that rugged hero, old Hugh Latimer, uttered even as the crackling fires swirled round him, "Stand fast, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall light a candle this day in England which by God's Grace shall never be extinguished": to those of us who listening to these words have ever felt their inspiration as a *Prophecy Divine*, a solemn call from the Most High

God Himself to keep alive these principles forever: to those of us who have been reared in such a faith as this the following words of Dr. Littledale, one of the ablest exponents of the so-called "catholic" principles, are almost incomprehensible, and fill us only with pain and sadness. "Robespierre, Danton, Marat, St. Just, and Couthon, merit quite as much admiration and respect as Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper. . . . So far they stand on a higher moral level than the base traitors who were, and deservedly, executed, blunder and folly as that execution was, by Mary I. It is absolutely impossible for any just, educated, and religious man, who has read the history of the time in genuine sources, to hold two opinions about *the Reformers*. A Church which could produce in its highest lay and clerical ranks such a set of miscreants as the leading English and Scottish Reformers, must have been in a perfectly rotten state; as rotten as France was when the righteous judgment of the great Revolution fell upon it." (Lecture, *London Times*, May 23, 1868.) So too, Lord Halifax, President of the English Church Union, an Acknowledged leader of the "Catholic" party, is quoted as saying—"The principles of the Reformation are things to be repented of with tears, and in ashes." No wonder that holding such principles as these our "Catholic" friends are anxious to "correct the mistakes" of these men, to purge the Church of those "Protestant" doctrines which we now know to have been the invention of "*base traitors*" and "*miscreants*." Yet, in spite of the fact

that the English Reformers were "such a set of miscreants," in spite of the fact that their entire "Reformation," as some are pleased to call it, was all a miserable "mistake," these same "Catholic" Churchmen are (strange to say) immediately offended if any one, taking them at their word, insists that their own tenets are absolutely irreconcilable with the true *official doctrines of this Church*, which these "miscreants" incorporated in her formularies. They cannot understand how any one, particularly a Clergyman of the Church, can have the temerity to assert that a view of the Episcopate, which they hold and upon which they propose to change the Name and fundamental principles of the Church Herself, is absolutely irreconcilable with the teachings of these "miscreants" and the *official doctrines* which they themselves formulated for this Church.

Miscreants or not, the Prayer Book, Ordinal, Articles, and all the official formularies of this Church, *were the work of these men.* If *their* doctrines thus formulated are not the *official* doctrines of this Church, she has none at all. Why "Catholics" should expect the doctrines of men whom they distinctly tell us were "miscreants" and "traitors" to coincide with their views, we cannot understand. We can understand, indeed, why they should take issue with us as regards our view of the Episcopate and our conception of the Catholic Church. Why they should object to our statement that these "miscreants," whose "mistakes" they are now trying to correct, emphatically denied *their "catholic"*

theory of the Episcopate, when one of their best authorities (Keble) has himself told us that the English Reformers "never venture to urge its exclusive claim, or to connect the Succession with the validity of the Holy Sacraments" we cannot understand. Why they should find fault with our statement that a view of the Church Catholic founded upon a theory of the Episcopate which these "miscreants" rejected, is foreign to the teachings of said "miscreants," and the official doctrines of that Church which they (said "miscreants") reformed we do not see. Lastly, why they should further object to our statement that the proposal to change the name of the Church to one that will uphold the distinctive "Catholic" conception of the Episcopate and the Church, is to overthrow the Protestant principles of these "traitors," and *undermine all the official* doctrines of that Church, which these said "traitors" themselves drew up and formulated, these are matters which, we freely confess, are absolutely incomprehensible to us. Why should "Catholics" expect that their view should represent the *official* doctrines of this Church, when the said official doctrines were framed by a set of "miscreants," and when the whole object of their own work, as they distinctly tell us, is to "*correct the mistakes*" which these men made? We confess that the mystery is well-nigh inscrutable. And yet—think of it!—there are many people, among them *moderate* churchmen, who regard the opinions which we have here expressed concerning the Episcopate and the Church, as nothing less than *heresy*.

Think of it! Heresy, because *the official view* of the Church herself! Heresy, because the teaching of the English Reformers who gave us our Prayer Book and formulated all our principles and doctrines! Heresy, because the teaching of the Reformers, and not of the Tractarians and present-day "Catholics"! Heresy, because directly opposed to the doctrines of those who openly tell us that the whole object of their movement is to "correct the mistakes of these men"—to *overthrow* the work of the "miscreants" that reformed (?) the Church of England, who framed our Prayer Book, Ordinal, Articles, and, in fact, all the official formularies of the Church! If this be heresy, we are certainly glad to be accused of it, as with all the English Reformers behind us, and practically every great prelate in the Church of England from the days of Cranmer downward to the Oxford Movement heartily endorsing us, we feel that, after all, we are in fairly good company. Now why assume this inconsistent, and utterly indefensible position? Why should not "Catholics" come out squarely and openly to the world, and say, Yes, we know that this is not the teaching of the English Reformers, or of that Church whose doctrines and formularies they framed? We know that it is not the teaching of their Prayer Book, their Ordinal, their Articles, or any of their official documents. We know, in fact, that what we teach is not the teaching of the Church at all. We do not pretend, therefore, to represent the *official* attitude of this Church in any of these matters we are advocating. We know that our view of the

Episcopate and its necessity to the being of a Church, is not the *official* teaching either of the Church of England or of her daughter, the Protestant Episcopal Church. We freely recognize the fact also that our view of the extent and character of the Church Catholic, founded as it is upon a theory of the Episcopate *distinctly antagonistic* to that held by the Reformers, is equally as opposed to the official view of the Church. As a further consequence of all this we do not hesitate to say that the proposed title, "*The American Catholic Church*," which we are now asking you to adopt, is a title whose significance can never be made to harmonize with the fundamental principles of this Church. We freely admit all this. We do not attempt to advocate all these measures *in the name of this Church, as representing her official views at all.* On the contrary, we realize clearly that the official position of this Church, fixed as it has been by men that were any thing but "Catholics," can never be said to countenance our "Catholic" doctrines. We do not wish to mislead any one, therefore into thinking that we stand for the official doctrines of this Church in what we now teach and advocate. On the contrary, we wish it clearly understood that we are not in sympathy with the authorized tenets of *this* Church. We believe that the men who framed the Prayer Book, the Ordinal, the Articles, and in fact all the official formularies of the Church, were men who were anything but qualified for such a task. Not to speak of their personal characters, which, to say the least, were far from

admirable, they were utterly ignorant of the true Catholic doctrine of the ancient Church, and in seeking to "reform" the abuses of their day, they made a botch of the whole undertaking. In short, we believe that their work was anything but a success. We believe that the whole Reformation, so called, was a great mistake, and what we propose here and now to do is to "correct the mistakes" of these ignorant fanatics. We want to *substitute* for your present *official*, but none the less, *erroneous* doctrines, the true Catholic Doctrines of antiquity. We say openly, we wish to *change the fundamental principles of this Church*, and make them conformable to what we conceive to be the teaching of the primitive, undivided Church. Why not come out squarely and say this, rather than pretend, as they are now doing, that they contemplate *no change of fundamental principles* whatever and that they are *really loyal* to all *the essential doctrines of this Church*? How can they consistently assert that "*by such change there was (is) intended no changed relationship . . . towards the principles established by and through the Reformation of the Church of England as those principles are enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer*," which they did not hesitate to do *at the last Convention at Cincinnati*, and simultaneously to persist in declaring that the Reformation was a great blunder, the English Reformers, in particular, a set of "*miscreants*," and that they propose to "*correct the mistakes*" of these "*base traitors*," which "*mistakes*" have been "*enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer*"

and are everywhere manifest in all the official formularies of the Church. This kind of argument will not do. It is as plain as daylight from the statements of "Catholics" themselves, we repeat, that they regard the Prayer Book, Articles, and, in fact, all the formularies of the Church as "the product of an *uncatholic* age," and that their avowed object is to *change* these products of the Reformation, *fundamentally*. As one of the first, and more radical steps in this direction, they propose to *change the name of the Church itself*, to get rid of the miserable word "*Protestant*" (the root of the whole evil), and to substitute, in place of the present title, that of "*The American Catholic Church*"—a name which commits this communion to a view of the Episcopate and of the Church Catholic *absolutely irreconcilable* with the view of the English Reformers, and absolutely irreconcilable with the official doctrinal, and historic position of this Church.

If they would be consistent, then, "Catholic" Churchmen must cease to claim that by such Change of Name they do not intend in any way to alter the "*principles established by or through the Reformation of the Church of England*," while simultaneously asserting that "*the principles of the Reformation are things to be repented of with tears and in ashes*," and that their whole object is "*to correct the mistakes of the Reformation.*" We repeat, this kind of logic will not do. They must take one side or the other. They must either stick to their *Cincinnati Resolution*, and show that the proposed Name—"The

American Catholic Church"—involves no doctrine that is contrary to the teachings of the English Reformers, and the standing official doctrines of this Church; or else they must unequivocally repudiate this solemn covenant of 1910, and adhere loyally to the repeated declarations of their leaders, that their purpose is to tear out root and branch the principles of the (*Protestant*) Reformation, which though the *authorized, official doctrines of the Church to-day*, are the product of an "*uncatholic*" age—the work of "*miscreants*," and "*traitors*" to the primitive Faith. We have demonstrated that the former is impossible (the task we set out to accomplish), we leave it to them, therefore, to deny logically, if they can, that their whole object is to overthrow the official doctrines of the Church, framed by the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century, reaffirmed by the Revisors of 1662, and again by our own Convention of 1789. In short, we leave it to them logically to deny, if they can, that their object is to overthrow the *Foundation principles of this Communion.*

VI

THE KIKUYU CONFERENCE

VI

THE KIKUYU CONFERENCE

SINCE the foregoing pages were written, an incident has occurred which has excited much discussion throughout the ecclesiastical world, and which bearing, as it does, directly upon the point at issue, affords a yet more profitable illustration of thetruth of our argument. Now comes the Bishop of Zanzibar, after fifteen years of missionary work in the Ministry of the Church of England, to inquire where *Ecclesia Anglicana* stands upon certain fundamental *matters of doctrine*. This query at the very beginning of his career as a student of theology, might be natural enough, but at this late date, after years of service in the Church of England, and in the honored position of a Bishop of that Communion, is, to say the least, a little surprising. Yet so it is. The entire scope of his inquiries covers, indeed, a number of matters with which we are not here concerned; matters relating principally to certain recent developments of Modernism. When, however, he comes to touch upon the action of two of his brother Bishops, at the Kikuyu Conference, with regard to a proposed scheme of federation with non-episcopal Churches,

and with a public rebuke administered by the Lord Bishop of St. Albans to one of the Priests of his Diocese "who had invoked Our Lady, and two other Saints," we reach what appears to be the true *casus belli* of the whole article. He wastes no time in characterizing the liberal principles enunciated by his fellow Bishops at the Kikuyu Conference as "*heresy*." It is equally plain that he regards the position assumed by the Bishop of St. Albans as no less *heretical*, for he speaks of it as an attempt "to attack and abolish practices of piety which have the sanction of the whole of Catholic Christendom." So serious are both these matters, in his estimation, that he requests that the first offence "be heard and judged in our Provincial Court," and, in the same open letter, implores St. Albans "to reconsider his (your) decision about the Invocation of Saints, and so strengthen our corporate witness to the Catholic Faith in this hour of great danger." He thinks it imperative that these matters be brought to trial as *Ecclesia Anglicana* does not know her own mind, and until she does know it, "and learns to express it, she will be of use neither in the sphere of reunion nor in the mission-field." Now it must be confessed, at the outset, that there is something startlingly *suggestive* of the truth in this last statement of Zanzibar's that *Ecclesia Anglicana* "stands to-day at the judgment-bar innocent alike of narrow-mindedness and broad-mindedness, but proven guilty of double-mindedness," and that "until she recovers a single mind, and knows it, and learns to express it, she will

be of use neither in the sphere of reunion nor in the mission-field." The trouble is that it is startingly *suggestive* of the truth only, without being a real statement of the truth. That the Bishops and Clergy of the Church have, for years past, been afraid to express themselves openly as a body, upon the great issues involved in the conflict of "Catholic" and Protestant principles, is only too true. Whenever such unpleasant questions have arisen, from time to time, and been laid before Convocation or Convention for definite solution, these assemblies have either ignored them altogether, or else replied with solemn pronouncements, of great length, and full of words, but absolutely unintelligible as a definite answer to the appeal. Such evasions of the issue, belauded as evidence of the profound wisdom, breadth, and comprehensiveness of the assemblies making them, have very naturally disgusted honest inquirers on either side, and so far, they amply justify the Bishop's charge of "double-mindedness," and his warning that unless *Ecclesia Anglicana* abandon such a vacillating policy with the public, "she will be of use neither in the sphere of reunion nor in the mission-field." But while, for many years past, the attitude of our Convocations and Conventions towards such appeals has, indeed, been strangely vacillating and ambiguous, yet the implication that *Ecclesia Anglicana* as *an organized body*, as an *historic institution*, has not in her *official acts*, *Articles and Formularies taken a definite, unqualified and absolutely unequivocal position on each and every one of the issues here under*

discussion is not only untrue, but absurdly so. It is simply amazing that one who occupies no less a position than that of a Bishop in the Church should be, apparently ignorant of the fact. It may be only too true that when pressed with the questions—What view does *Ecclesia Anglicana* take as to the necessity of the Episcopate to the being of the Church? What is her official attitude towards non-episcopal bodies? What has she affirmed respecting the validity of Presbyterian Ordination? What does she think about the practice of Invoking the Saints, etc.? the Bishops and Clergy of the Church generally, *evade the issue, and do not care to give a definite answer.* That the Church herself has not, long ago, *officially committed herself to a definite position on all these matters* is quite a different proposition. The fact that our Convocations and Conventions do not care to tell the public openly just what the Church *has* officially stated with regard to these matters, may be and undoubtedly is, a vacillating policy. It does not, however, argue that the Church has not, long ago, assumed a definite, official attitude with respect to them, or prove that her leading representatives are ignorant as to what that official attitude is. The truth is so many *individuals* within our Communion have, of late years, become converted to "Catholic" theories and practices, and the movement which, at the first was merely suffered, has now become so strong, that it has become quite a delicate matter for our Convocations and Conventions to speak out, and tell the whole truth. It is not that the Church has

not a definite official view of these matters, but, in view of existing conditions, it is not politic to publish that definite official view to the world. Knowing as they do full well, that the *official* attitude of the Church is only *too definite* on these matters and, simultaneously, only *too antagonistic* to "Catholic" doctrines and practices, it is the part of worldly wisdom to evade these questions as far as possible. Accordingly, they prefer to cover up their weakness under garb of an assumed "comprehensiveness" and breadth of vision, which commits itself to nothing definite, one way or another, and which is charmingly hailed by its advocates as an infallible evidence of "Catholicity." As if true Catholicity could exist apart from a definite, *protestant* attitude toward *error*. As we have said before, the amazing thing is, not that the Church finds difficulty in answering these embarrassing questions when put to it, but that a prominent *Bishop* of the Church should be ignorant of the fact that the Church has a definite, official view on all these matters, or knowing it, that he should have the temerity to challenge her to assert it, in opposition to the usurped claims of "Catholics" to represent her to the world. *O Tempora! O Mores!* Has it indeed come to this! Has it come to pass that the men whose opinions were once *tolerated* only within this Church, and who scarcely ventured to express them openly for fear of being subjected to the charge of treason, have now so grown apace, that not only do they fearlessly expound their doctrines from press and pulpit, using the fair name of the

Church herself to back them, but, *mirabile dictu!* have even reached that high degree of assurance, when one of them, a Bishop in the Church, can publicly challenge three of his brother Bishops to show cause why they may not lawfully be convicted of *heresy!* He challenges two of them for putting into practice certain principles which their own Church has *officially authorized*, and put into practice time and time again, and the third for the yet more grievous crime of enforcing, within the confines of his Diocese, the observance of *an Article of Religion set forth by authority of the Church herself*, and which every single Clergyman of the Church, not excepting the plaintiff, had been required to *subscribe* and *had subscribed* at the very outset of his ministry. Has it come to pass that a man, calling himself a "Catholic," can challenge this Church to her face to assert that her own authorized Articles, Acts and Formularies are to be accepted as her official and orthodox teachings, rather than his own private opinions, or the opinions of his party? Yet it is precisely this, and nothing less than this, that the bishop of Zanzibar has done. Because the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda entered into a federation with certain non-episcopal bodies for the purpose of promoting the common missionary work in which they were all engaged, and because such action involved communication with "a Church without Episcopacy"—a recognition of the lawful authority of their Ministry, the admission of unconfirmed persons to the Holy Communion, in short, the recognition of "*Protestant*"

as opposed to "*Catholic*" principles, they are openly charged with "*heresy*," with being unfaithful to the truth for which "a Bishop of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*" is supposed to "stand," "*the Truth he has vowed to hand on to others.*" "*I have charged the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda with heresy in their teaching of the meaning and value of Episcopacy; I would also add that, to my mind, they and their followers are as seriously wrong in remaining in an Episcopal Ministry which is to them merely an outward form and to their Protestant neighbours a rock of offence. On the day that a Bishop can communicate with a Protestant Minister, deliberately and of set purpose, one of them is, it seems to me, bound in conscience to surrender the outward form which means so little to him, and yet so powerfully hinders the work of reunion.*" He, therefore, begs "our Metropolitan, that the matter of the Kikuyu Conference be heard and judged in our Provincial Court, before him and his comprovincial Bishops," etc. Now, *when*, we should like to inquire, did it become "heresy" for a Bishop of the Church of England "to communicate with a Church without Episcopacy?" If contrary to the authorized doctrine of the Church, why did she *officially license* the practice of such communication, first by Royal Patent in 1550 (*Vide*, Patent, Edward VI.), and afterwards in numbers of cases (*e. g.*, the License issued by Archbishop Grindal, 1582) already cited, relating to individual Presbyterian Divines celebrating the Holy Sacrament in the Church of England. This practice was *common* for over one hundred years. Why did

the men who framed her ordinances themselves freely communicate in the Foreign Reformed Churches? How was it that the English Commissioners at the Synod of Dort received the Sacrament at the hands of Dutch Ecclesiastics without reproof from the authorities at home? Why was not Archbishop Usher (despite the eminence of his position) brought to trial for testifying his "communion with these Churches," which he did "honor as true members of the Church Universal," and particularly for affirming: "I do *profess that, with like affection, I should receive the blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch Ministers, if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the French Ministers if I were in Charentone?*"

Or, better still (since we are told that all this "heresy" was eradicated by the Revisers of 1662), why was not Cosin, the *leader* of these Revisers, brought to trial, not merely for *endorsing* such an heretical practice, but for publicly affirming that the Church of England did not then, and had never at any time prohibited such a practice? [To wit: "If the Church and Kingdom of England have acknowledged them (as they did in admitting of them when they fled thither for refuge, and placing them by public authority in divers of the most eminent cities among us, *without prohibition to any of our own people to go and communicate with them*), why should we, that are but private persons, utterly disclaim their communion in their own country? . . . *Considering there is no prohibition of our Church against it* (*as there is against our communicating with*

the Papists, and that well grounded upon the Scripture and Will of God), I do not see but that both you, and others that are with you, may (either in case of necessity when you cannot have the Sacrament among yourselves, or in regard of declaring your unity in professing the same religion, which you and they do) go otherwhile to communicate reverently with them of the French Church."[1]] Add to these words, the unequivocal statement of all the Revisers made in the Preface to the new Prayer Book, that they had not in any of their alterations changed any *formerly "established doctrine, or laudable practice of the Church of England,"* and does it not begin to look as though we shall have to include *Cosin and all the Revisers of 1662* in the same noble army of "heretics," "miscreants" and "base traitors" to which Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and all the Sixteenth Century Reformers, who inaugurated these "established doctrines" and "laudable practices," and who, particularly in the matter of Episcopacy, "never *venture to urge its exclusive claims, or to connect the Succession with the validity of the Holy Sacraments*" belong? Add still again to these facts, the further one, that such practice, with the doctrinal principles involved in it, thus officially endorsed by the Church *up to and through* the period of the Restoration at which *the last authorized changes and alterations were made*, has *continued without interruption in many quarters down to the present hour*, and what becomes of this presumptuous charge of "*heresy*"? Why should not

[1] Cited by Goode, *On Orders*, p. 67.

"a Bishop of the Ecclesia Anglicana" *as long as he is true to the official doctrines of Ecclesia Anglicana,* and has not been deceived into thinking that "Catholic" principles represent her,—why *should he not "communicate with a Protestant Minister? What is* that mysterious "*Truth*" in the defense of which every "*Bishop of the Ecclesia Anglicana*" is supposed to stand, and which "*he has vowed to hand on to others,*" that forbids him communicating with "*a Church without Episcopacy"? Let us have it.* Further, Why should not every Bishop of *Ecclesia Anglicana* who does stand faithful to those principles for which "a Bishop of the Ecclesia Anglicana" is supposed to stand, and which "he has vowed to hand on to others," communicate with Protestants, and endeavor "*to protestantize* the world"? Is it a crime to be a *Protestant in a Protestant Church?* And if *Ecclesia Anglicana* be not a *Protestant* Church, we ask *why is she not?* Because a few "Catholics" deny the assertion? After all, which statement is to be regarded as authoritative, the statement of "*Catholics*" generally that the Church of England is *not* Protestant, or the Church of England's own *official* statement that *she is?* Is the charge of "heresy" preferred against these men, because of their outrageous protestant proclivities, to be substantiated on the assertions of Convocation and Parliament, or is the whole matter to be infallibly settled upon the *ipse dixit* of Zanzibar? Which is "*official*"? If *Ecclesia Anglicana* be not a Protestant Church then why, in the Act of Union between Ireland and Great Britain

in 1800, was it *officially* enacted that the Churches of England and Ireland should be united in "*one Protestant Episcopal Church*, to be called the United Church of England and Ireland"? Was that action *official*, or was it not? If the Christianity set forth by her, as the established Church of the Realm, be not *Protestant* to the core, then, why, in the Bill of Rights, drawn up by "the Lords *Spiritual* (*i. e.*, the *Bishops*) and Temporal, and Commons," *officially defined* therein as "*the Protestant Religion . . . of this Kingdom*," the latter itself declared to be a "*Protestant Kingdom*," and for the very purpose of preserving such Protestantism inviolate, is it further decreed that none but "*Protestants*" shall ever inherit the throne? If the Church *established by law* to preserve "*the Protestant Religion*" in a "*Protestant Kingdom*" be not a *Protestant Church—what is it?* And if the Bishops and Clergy of such a *Protestant* Church are not supposed to uphold *Protestant principles*, pray, what are they expected to do? How can a Bishop in a *Protestant* Church be convicted of "*heresy*" merely for teaching *Protestant* principles, or seeking "*to protestantize the world*"? Moreover, on the other hand, we should like to venture the further inquiry, just how a "*Catholic*" Bishop manages to justify his position in a *Protestant* Church? If as "Catholics" themselves tell us, the principles *they* stand for are *absolutely irreconcilable* with the principles of Protestantism, how can they logically claim to represent a Church which has taken particular pains, through a *formal and official action*,

published to the world, to inform all men that she is a *Protestant* Body—the established Church of a *Protestant* Kingdom? Or, by what miracle of Logic, can such a "Catholic" Bishop, professing a creed *absolutely irreconcilable* with the principles of Protestantism, appeal to a *Protestant* Church to convict one of its Bishops of "*heresy*" upon the ground that he has been teaching *Protestant* rather than "*Catholic*" doctrines? If such action can be logically defended to-day, verily, the age of miracles is not yet ended. Of all the pretensions of "Catholics," the claim that that *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and *her American daughter*, are *not* Protestant Churches, and pledged to Protestant doctrines, are the most extravagant and preposterous. We might press these embarrassing questions indefinitely. Why, if the Church of England be not Protestant, does she further require all her Clergy in the Oath of Abjuration to acknowledge her as such, and how does the Bishop of Zanzibar explain his own action in taking such an oath? If, according to "Catholic" theory, all the baneful principles subsequently denominated "protestant" were the invention of the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century, and the work of these "miscreants" was overthrown in the Seventeenth Century, when Laud, Cosin, and other "Catholics" got in their work, how does it happen that even Laud was so "uncatholic" as to refuse to "*unchurch these Protestants?* How does it happen that even *he* asserts that he holds "the true *Protestant* religion *established in the Church of England*, and that "*the Church of England is Protestant*

too"? How was it that so loyal a "Catholic" as Cosin, after subverting the work of the Sixteenth Century "miscreants" by his own glorious Revision in 1662, still inconsistently writes: "In heart and affection we enjoy constant union *with all the other Churches on earth which bear the title of Christian, and profess the Catholic faith and religion. . . . We desire this to be particularly understood as referring to the* PROTESTANT CHURCHES." (*Regni Angliæ Religio*, xiv.), or how is it that this same "Catholic" was even styled "*the Atlas* of the *Protestant* Religion," *i. e.*, the giant who held the whole system of Protestantism upon his shoulders? We do not expect "Catholics" to take our word for all these things, but how will they explain these words of their own apostles, Laud and Cosin,—not merely that they themselves were Protestants, but that "*the Church of England is Protestant too*"? If the opinion of "Catholics" concerning the position of *Ecclesia Anglicana* is to be accepted as more authoritative than her own authorized, official utterances, these decisions of such eminent "Catholics" as Laud and Cosin that she is a *Protestant Church* ought to be accepted as final. Again, if the Church of England be not a Protestant Church—if the tenets of Protestantism be absolutely irreconcilable with her official doctrines, and if it be "heresy" for any of her Bishops to have anything to do with Protestant Churches, either to recognize them as "Churches" at all, much less to "communicate" with them, how is it that when, after the Revolution, a Church was

organized here in America bearing the title "*The Protestant Episcopal Church*," and professing to hold substantially the same doctrines and principles as Ecclesia Anglicana, that the latter, after careful examination of its Prayer Book and other formularies, officially recognized this "*Protestant*" Church, as being substantially identical with herself, made no objection to her profession of Protestantism, but, on the contrary, deliberately and with open eyes bequeathed her the Episcopate *on this very basis*, viz.: that she was "*protestant*," and expected to be known as *Protestant* by all the world, under the official title "*the Protestant Episcopal Church*"? Was not the Church of England herself guilty of an *heretical* act, when she thus officially recognized a Protestant Church, and has ever since that day not only continued to recognize her, but to "*communicate*" with her? Moreover, we should like to inquire parenthetically: how was it that *before* the Episcopate was given, and while the negotiations for the Episcopate were still pending, the Body here in America, in all its official correspondence with the Church in England, claimed to be a "*Church*," and in all the official replies of the Bishops in England, *this claim was acknowledged?* How was it that *Ecclesia Anglicana* in such an important crisis forgot her own essential principles, forgot that *sine qua non* of "Catholic" principle that Episcopacy is essential to the very *being* of a Church and that without the Episcopate there could be no Church here in America—nor even a "Christian man; no, not so much as in name"?

It is useless to continue to cite evidence in proof of a proposition, which in reality needs no proof. Nothing is clearer or more self-evident to those who read history, and consult the *official* formularies of the Church of England than the fact that she is a Protestant Church, and professes to uphold and defend Protestant doctrines. This being the case, no better proof of the utter impossibility for "Catholics" to represent her, or to maintain their position as orthodox clergy of this Church, can well be found than the admission contained in the Bishop of Zanzibar's own words: "If she (*Ecclesia Anglicana*) have need of us to *catholicize* the heathen world for Christ, I am at her service now as always. But if to *protestantize* the world . . . *I for my part have no longer place or lot within her borders.*"

So, too, what is true with regard to Zanzibar's charge against the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa, is equally true regarding his further charge against the Bishop of St. Albans. How any man can reasonably expect to substantiate a charge of "heresy" against a Bishop of the Church of England for enforcing conformity to the Art. XXII. of the Thirty-nine Articles, *the regularly established Articles of Religion for the Church of England*, adopted *officially* as the expression of her doctrinal position, and required to be subscribed by all the Clergy of said Church; or how any one can pretend to affirm that it is the duty of a Bishop of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* to uphold and encourage the practice of invoking the Saints when said Article distinctly affirms that

"*Invocation of Saints is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God*"; or, finally, how any one holding the views of the Bishop of Zanzibar on this and all the above stated questions can fail to perceive that what "*heresy*" or infidelity to the Church of England there be in any of these matters rests *with him*, and not with the accused—these, we say, are mysteries inscrutable which none but a "Catholic" intellect can presume to fathom. In a word, the whole position assumed by Zanzibar is but another evidence of the extent to which "Catholic" *presumption* has gone in this Church. From being universally condemned as heterodox, it has been more and more tolerated until, finally, "Catholics" have come, not only to pretend, but actually to believe, that they represent *the orthodox, official view of this Church —her established Acts and Formularies to the contrary notwithstanding.* Ay, little by little their presumption has grown until to-day, they hesitate not to call these very formularies—these *written, historic documents, established by authority of Convocation and Parliament, heretical,* and the clergy who in obedience to their oath, continue to defend them, "*heretics*," and unfaithful to "the Truth" they have "vowed to hand on to others." It has come to pass that a man who has solemnly subscribed the Articles of a Church can now refuse to acknowledge their authority altogether, and simultaneously continue to assume that he is a faithful defender and exponent of the doctrines of

said Church, while those who continue to acknowledge and defend them are "*heretics*" and *unfaithful to their vows*. It has come to pass that one who has solemnly sworn to uphold the *Protestant* doctrines of a Church which has officially informed the world that she is a *Protestant Church*, can now, not only ignore these promises altogether, and continue to assume that he is faithful to the tenets of his Communion, but can openly charge his fellow Bishops, who remain faithful to their Protestant principles, of infidelity to their Church. He can even demand in the name of *Ecclesia Anglicana* herself, that those who maintain her *official, Protestant* view of *the Episcopate* and of *the Church Catholic*, adopted at the very outset of her history, and repeatedly set forth by authority, *shall be brought to trial for their presumption*, while he who prefers the charge may boast that he teaches, in the name of *Ecclesia Anglicana*, doctrines absolutely incompatible with those which she has set forth, viz.: the "*Catholic*" as opposed to the *Protestant* view of both these matters.

We have now, as we believe, thoroughly demonstrated the utter falsity of the "Catholic" position, and would dismiss the subject here and now, were it not that there is another line of defence frequently resorted to in palliation of such presumption which must, in justice, be referred to. It is commonly argued by "*Catholics*" that because *Ecclesia Anglicana* professes to be a *part* only of a yet larger Church —the Church Catholic or Universal, and has in the Creed formally expressed her belief in the principles

and doctrines of the said Holy Catholic Church, that the teachings of this latter must necessarily take precedence of her own particular denominational tenets. Hence her clergy are justified in appealing to such Catholic doctrine and usage *in entire independence of her national views, and even in direct opposition to them.* The sophistry of such an argument should be manifest. For even assuming the premises to be correct, as well might you argue that because the Constitution of the United States is above the Supreme Court of the United States, you owe no obedience to the interpretations of the Constitution made by the Supreme Court, but each individual is free to act upon *his own* interpretation independently of, and even *in opposition to*, the official decisions of the latter. Or you might argue that because the Constitution of each State professes to be, and is supposed to be subservient to, and in conformity with, the Constitution of the United States, each individual citizen has a right to ignore the decrees of his State Constitution, whenever in his *individual* or *private* opinion they do not accord with the General Constitution of the land. That each *individual* is free to *believe* what propositions he will, either in the theological or in the political world, is one thing. But that any individual, once having adopted a given ecclesiastical or civil government as his own, once having subscribed its Constitution and Laws, once having become a citizen, and even an officer in such a Community, can refuse to *conform* to the said Constitution and Laws thereof, can refuse to ac-

knowledge that *they have any authority over him* though he continues to call himself a member of such an organization, a subject of such a government, or can even presume to call in question the *loyalty* of those who do conform, charging them senselessly with treason to their Church—all this is too preposterous to merit serious consideration. Yet this is precisely the attitude assumed by the Bishop of Zanzibar in the present instance, as well as that of "*Catholics*" generally, both in this Protestant Episcopal Church and in the mother Church across the seas. We wish here and now to emphasize the fact that we respect individual *belief*, individual *conviction* in every man. Honest belief or conviction as to what is the truth of any matter is something which a man cannot arbitrarily fashion for himself. It is not subject to his will. It is forced upon him whether he will or not. For whatever a man may *wish* to believe, or whatever he may *try* to believe, or whatever he may *profess* to believe, as an actual matter of fact, he himself knows that he *does* believe and *can* believe only that which his own *individual* reason and conscience compel him to believe. He may wish and pray, oftentimes, that it were otherwise, but all to no purpose. He must follow the only guide that God has given him to the best of his ability. So, in the same way, if a man cannot arbitrarily create or fashion his own belief, it is worse folly to imagine that any other man can fashion it for him, or that any self-asserted infallible authority of Church or State can presume to decree what it shall

be by legislation. Now the Church of England, in common with all the Reformed Churches, recognized this right of the individual to obey the dictates of his own reason and conscience in all these theological questions, and has never forced her official interpretations upon any one as matters *necessary to Salvation.* Had she done so, she could never have admitted the possibility of salvation outside the ranks of her own communion. This, however, is precisely what she did *not* do. In common with all the Reformed Churches, she recognized the principle of "private judgment" and the right of any individual who could not conscientiously accept her interpretations of Holy Scripture to leave her communion for some other branch of the Church Catholic that could satisfy his wants. In short, nothing but the actual statements of Holy Scripture itself were to be insisted upon as *necessary articles of belief* for those who were willing to "profess and call themselves Christians" at all. This was for the plain and obvious reason that since all that is known of the teachings of Christ has been given in the Bible, no man can profess to believe the teachings of Christ without simultaneously professing belief in the statements of the Bible. While these actual statements of the Bible were to be required of all who called themselves Christian at all, as fundamental articles of *belief*, no other teaching of the Church, however plausible from the standpoint of reason or commendable in practice, could demand more than a promise of *consent*, or *conformity* on the part of individual members of the Clergy. Thus,

the Church has ever recognized the just distinction between voluntary *assent, consent* or *conformity* to certain propositions, and actual *belief* in them. While ever insisting with respect to her *Articles of Religion* that each clergyman shall "declare his *unfeigned assent* and *consent* unto, and *approbation* of, the said Articles" (Act of Uniform., 13 and 14 Car. II., c. 14), she does not go further and demand a confession of *faith* or *belief* therein, but on the contrary, distincly affirms (Art. VI.) that such *belief* is only to be required in connection with the plainest statements of "Holy Scripture" itself, "so *that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be* BELIEVED *as an article of the* FAITH, *or thought requisite or necessary to salvation.*" While, therefore, the Church does not require that her Articles or other formularies, which are distinctively her own *denominational* interpretations or explanations of certain theological matters, are to go absolutely unquestioned as *infallible* exposition of Truth, she does demand that they be recognized as authoritative within her own communion as her existing *Laws* and *Decisions* in respect of these matters, which must be observed in all the practical life of the Church as authorized working rules or principles. The same demand is made by the State respecting our Civil Laws. No law of the land is necessarily infallible, nor is it required of any loyal citizen that he profess unfeigned *belief* in the correctness of each and all of them. Upon the contrary, each citizen is not only permitted

to question the validity of a given law, but he is further permitted to go before the proper legislative assembly at any time and seek its *repeal.* While he is not expected to believe in its truth or efficacy, he is expected, so long as it is a Law of the land, *to respect it as such*—to *conform* to its demands. So also no man is required to *believe* in the infallible Truth of the Thirty-nine Articles, or any other declaration of the Church, as such. On the contrary, he may seek the repeal or revision of any of these authorized Articles and Formularies before the proper authorities, and as an actual matter of fact, the Articles and other Formularies have been repeatedly revised and altered. But while he is not required to profess *belief* in them, *he is required to acknowledge their authority,* as the existing doctrines, statutes, and laws of the Church, which as such must be *obeyed* and *conformed* to, until they have been legitimately repealed or amended. "Even with respect to those statements (of the Articles) which have been viewed as no more than probable opinions, or which are in truth only matters of history and morals, the candidate for Holy Orders must certify his own willingness *to shape his teaching by the public standard, and to yield his unwavering assent to the fitness of the whole collection*" (Hardwick's *Hist. Art.*, p. 206). It would be chaos in any Church if such *conformity* and *respect* to her individual doctrines or views were not required, and each Clergyman might elect for himself to teach and to preach *in her name* what he individually conceived to be the truth of any contro-

verted matter. Yet this is precisely the sophistry underlying the whole "Catholic" position. Because the Church of England is but a *part* of a still larger Church, the Holy Catholic Church, it does not follow from this that each individual clergyman of the Church is to teach and to preach *in the name of the Church of England* (*claiming her authority*) whatever he, *individually*, conceives to be the *true, original doctrine of the primitive Catholic Church*, in utter disregard of the official interpretations and expositions of such "Catholic Truth" which the Church of England herself has authorized. In short, even accepting the hypothesis, as ordinarily stated, to be correct, and that we owe allegiance to the primitive teaching of the Undivided Church before all else, yet *who is to determine authoritatively what that primitive doctrine really was: the Church of England as a body, or each individual clergyman as a man?* While harping upon the precedence of "Catholic Doctrine" and practice, they forget that the Articles and other formularies of the Church are *her official interpretations and expositions of what "Catholic Doctrines and practices" really were.* While, therefore, it is perfectly true that the Church of England must bow to what was the teaching of the Church at the very beginning, it is not for individual clergymen of the Church, but rather for *the Church as a body, in Convocation assembled, and through official acts and authorized formularies, to determine authoritatively what these primitive doctrines were.* Now, it is precisely this that the Church of England has done in her Articles, Prayer

Book and other formularies, hence these, and not the speculations of individual "Catholics" must be accepted and respected by all members of the Church of England as authoritative declarations *as to what true Catholic* Doctrine really is. We repeat, then, that the declarations of individual clergymen, calling themselves "Catholics," as to what the true doctrines of the primitive Church were, *have no authority whatever in this Church.* Their opinions as to the nature and extent of the Church Catholic, its doctrines, usages, and practice, are *individual* opinions—nothing more. It is the interpretation and exposition of all these matters *set forth in the Articles and other formularies* that are alone to be accepted as authoritative. Moreover, that the Reformers in framing these formularies for the Church of England had always in view the *primitive* teaching of the Church, and claimed to be loyal to all that was *truly catholic*, is evident everywhere in their writings. Bishop Jewel in his reply to the Jesuit Harding who charged that they had forsaken the Catholic Church, says: "Nay, *we are returned to the Catholic Church of Christ!*" Again, he tells us—"We have *returned* to the Apostles and *the ancient Catholic Fathers.*" (*Works*, iv., p. 12.) He further asserts in his "Apology" that the faith of the Church of England "is established by the words of Christ and the writings of the Apostles, and by the testimonies of *the Catholic Fathers.*" (*Works*, iv., p. 15.) It is quite true that his interpretation of what constituted the essential "catholicity" of any given doctrine, was based upon principles foreign to

those employed by our modern "Catholics," but this does not change the fact that both he, and his brother reformers generally, had always the same end in view, viz:—*the discovery and establishment of Catholic Doctrine.* Thus, unlike our "Catholic" friends, they denied that there was any necessary infallibility in a General Council *per se* (Art. XXI.), and maintained that only in so far as the decisions of such Councils could be shown to be in conformity with the statements of Holy Scripture, were they to be regarded as authoritative. Even the Creeds were not to be accepted merely because authorized by General Councils, but only because the actual statements contained in them could be shown to have the "most certain warrant of Holy Scripture" (Art. VIII.). While, however, they denied the infallibility of such assemblies, they attached *great importance* to their decisions as *testimony* or *evidence.* Nor was it the decrees of Councils only. All the early Fathers were looked upon as *witnesses* to the primitive truth, and their writings were searched for statements regarding all matters of controversy. Thus, while nothing but the plainest and most unequivocal teachings of Holy Scripture were to be regarded as infallible, doctrines necessarily to be believed, all conclusions that could be derived by logical deduction from the statements of Holy Scripture, and could further be supported by the *testimony* of the Fathers and the General Councils of the Church, were to be regarded as *Catholic Doctrine.* On the other hand, no doctrine, however supported by the statements of the Fathers

and the declarations of General Councils, however prevalent either in Time or Space, that could *not* show warrant of Holy Writ was to be looked upon as either *necessary* or *Catholic*. For, as Bishop Jewel again expresses it, "the Catholic Church of God standeth not in multitude of persons, but in weight of truth." Thus while the Anglican Reformers did not hesitate to apply the Vincentian formula, yet they did so after a *rational*, not a *mechanical* fashion. There was no blind, unreasoning appeal to the mere *prevalence of* a doctrine, "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*," the mere number of witnesses attesting, the "multitude of persons," but rather to the *character* of their testimony, its "weight of truth" or "fitness" in view of other circumstances, its credibility in the light of actual statements of Holy Writ, in connection with the historic position of the witnesses themselves, etc. In short, it was the sane appeal of every Court of Law to-day to the testimony of *reliable* witnesses—*i. e.*, not to the mere *number* of witnesses, but to the *rational* character of the testimony adduced—the evidence which *the logic of time, and space, and circumstance warranted as reliable and justifiable*. Moreover this appeal to "catholicity" is everywhere apparent in their official acts, as well as in their private writings. They retained the Catholic Creeds as the official expression of the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England. In those Creeds they openly professed their belief "*in the Holy Catholic Church.*" In many official acts they referred approvingly thereto, authorizing particular

forms of Prayer therefor (*e. g.*, "Be merciful, O Father of all Mercies, to *Thy Church Universal* dispersed throughout the whole world," etc., 1572). Finally, that the "Catholic" (?) Revisers of 1662 most heartily approved the position of the Reformers as thoroughly Catholic, is evidenced by their own official declaration that although in their own work they had been guided by a fixed determination to preserve inviolate every doctrine and practice "*of the whole Catholick Church of Christ,*" yet they had discovered nothing in the Prayer Book, Articles, etc., of the Reformers that necessitated alterations in a matter of essential truth, but that, on the contrary, they did "profess it to the world, that the Book, as it stood before established by Law, did (doth) not contain in it anything contrary to the Word of God, or to sound doctrine," etc. It is the greatest mistake in the world therefore to imagine that the Reformers were not bent upon the attainment of Catholic Truth. The man who acts upon that assumption has not learned the A, B, C, of the Reformation. The whole meaning of the Reformation was a return to the primitive, unadulterated teaching of the early Church. To assert this primitive *Catholic* Faith, however, men were necessarily compelled to *protest* against all the misrepresentations of it that were current in their age and time, against all the false doctrines that had been added over and above to the original kernel of Divine Truth. They were compelled to *protest* against these errors *in order* that they might *bring out clearly* or *emphasize* the original Truth. They

were *Protestant*, therefore, only that they might be truly *Catholic*. It is a great mistake, therefore, to think that *Catholicism* is an antonym for *Protestantism*. That is a late invention, absolutely unknown to the Reformers. With them the antonym of *Protestantism* was not *Catholicism*, but *Papism*. They were protesting not against *Catholic*, but *Papal* doctrine, that doctrine which, though *claiming* to be the primitive, Catholic truth, was, in reality, Catholicism *falsely so-called*. Why our modern "Catholic" friends cannot reconcile *their* doctrine with that of the Reformers, is not that the Reformers were any less desirous of upholding and maintaining Catholic Truth than they, but that *their* conception of what was the primitive Catholic Faith, and the conception entertained by the Reformers, are diametrically opposite. What our modern "Catholics" term Catholic doctrine, an English Reformer would have characterized as *Papist* doctrine. It is not true, therefore, that the English Reformers were indifferent to Catholic Truth, for their whole object was to discover it and establish it as the official doctrine of their Church. Only is it true, then, that what they claimed to be the true teaching of the primitive Catholic Church, and what the modern "Catholics." claim, are totally different things. This fact, we not only cheerfully acknowledge, but it is our whole purpose to emphasize it. Nothing can be found that is more irreconcilable than the Anglican and "Catholic" conceptions of true *Catholic* Doctrine. "Catholics" hold that the Holy Catholic Church, as an

outward and visible organization, consists only of those bodies possessing the Historic Episcopate, and exclude all non-episcopal bodies therefrom. The Anglican Reformers held that all organized bodies of Christians that confessed the fundamental doctrines of the Faith, whether Episcopal or Non-Episcopal in government, were branches of the Visible Catholic Church, and specifically recognized the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and other non-episcopal bodies on the continent *by name* as parts of said Catholic Church (Canon, 55). "Catholics" hold that there are *three* Orders in the *technical* sense of that word, that have the warrant of Holy Scripture and are therefore "*necessary*" in the Church. The Anglican Reformers maintained *even before the Reformation proper had been effected, i. e.* in Henry VIII.'s reign (see *Institution of a Christian Man; Necessary Doc. and Erud.*, etc.), that there were but *two* such Orders, viz.: (1) *Presbyters* (sometimes called Bishops) and (2) *Deacons* or Ministers. They continued to hold this view throughout the Reformation period (see Cranmer's *Catechism*, and numberless statements in the works of the Reformers generally). They reiterated the doctrine with *emphasis* in 1662, affirming in the Rubrics to the Ordinal that both the *Presbyterate* and the *Diaconate* were "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ," but significantly *refraining from* asserting the same of the Episcopate. "Catholics" hold that there is no valid Ministry save that which has been derived through the Historic Episcopate. The Anglican Reformers maintained that every

Ministry was valid in the sight of God wherein the persons so ministering the Word and the Sacraments had been "chosen and called to this work by men who had (have) public authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard" (Art. XXIII.). They further left unequivocal testimony of the meaning of these words in numberless official acts of recognition of such non-episcopal Ministries (*e. g.* Grindal's License to John Morrison, Judgment of Bancroft in case of Scottish Presbyters, 1610, together with the *practice* of the Church for over one hundred years of admitting such Ministers to officiate in Church of England without reordination). "Catholics" hold that the Sacraments administered by any but an episcopally ordained clergy are *invalid*. The Anglican Reformers taught exactly the reverse (see Patent of Edward VI., Grindal's License to John Morrison, etc. Also necessarily implied in their official recognition of non-episcopal bodies as true "*Churches*" and of their Ministries as *valid*). "Catholics" maintain that the Rites of Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction are "Sacraments of the Gospel" as *necessarily* to be observed as the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Anglican Reformers distinctly denied that the term "Sacrament" could be applied to the former *in the same technical* sense (see Art. XXV.). "Catholics" believe in the Sacrifice of the Mass. The Anglican Reformers declared that such theories or interpretations of the Holy Communion "were blasphemous

fables, and dangerous deceits" (Art. XXXI.). "Catholics" maintain the *objective* presence of the Body of Christ in the consecrated elements, some in accordance with the Roman theory of Transubstantiation, others after a different manner, but both alike maintaining the *local* or *spatial* presence of the Divine Body in the elements. The Anglican Reformers emphatically denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation and all theories of a *local* presence (Art. XXVIII.). "Catholics," assuming that the Divine Presence is *local* in the elements, deduce therefrom the doctrine that the consecrated elements may be upheld to the gaze of the Congregation as the *visible* Christ to be bowed down to, and adored, Whose Body can be carried about, and reserved. The Anglican Reformers on the contrary, denying as they did the *local* presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as logically denied in turn that it was ever by Christ's ordinance intended to be "reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped" (Art. XXVIII.). "Catholics" believe in the practice of invoking the Saints. The Anglican Reformers declared that "Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God" (Art. XXII.). "Catholics" affirm that the decrees of the General or Ecumenical Councils of the Church are to be regarded as infallible. The Anglican Reformers did not hesitate to assert that "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God, they may err, and sometimes

have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture" (Art. XXI.). So we might continue the contrast indefinitely. Nothing is more certain than that "Catholic" doctrines, not only do not represent, but are in irreconcilable opposition to, *the official* doctrines of this Church. Hence if heresy there be, it must be imputed to those who are seeking to introduce in the name of Catholic Truth doctrines and practices wholly unknown to the Anglican Reformers as Catholic—not to be found in any of the Articles or other Formularies which they established as official in this Church, rather than to those whose only crime appears to be that they are standing loyally by these *established* doctrines, fearlessly striving to keep alive those beacon-fires of the Protestant Reformation "which by God's Grace shall never be extinguished."

But finally, not only do we emphatically deny that the doctrines peculiar to "Catholics" have any authority whatever within this Church, but we further as emphatically deny again that the doctrines which are official therein, the doctrines framed by the English Reformers and incorporated into the existing articles and other formularies of the Church, are in any sense of the word the work of men who were either ignorant of, or antagonistic to, the Faith and practice of the Primitive Church. As we have already taken the pains to show, he knows little of the

works of the English Reformers who labours under the impression that they did not appeal to antiquity and to primitive, Catholic doctrine in all the reforms which they instituted. On the contrary, their entire work was based upon this very principle. In every change which they inaugurated, whether in the wording of the Liturgy, the conception of the Priestly office, the authority of the Episcopate, the essential nature of the Church, or in the minor alterations of particular rites and ceremonies, they appealed, in justification of their acts, to the "*Catholic assent of Antiquity*," the "*Catholic usages of primitive times*," "*the Usages of the Primitive Church*," etc. (Walcott, *Canons Eccles. Ch. Eng.*, p. xx). We read that the King ordered that "the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned men of this realm, having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion, taught by the Scripture as to *the Usages of the Primitive Church* should draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, fashion," etc. (Act of Unif., 1548, 2, 3, Edw. VI.). And again, later on, at the Savoy Conference, the same principle was as consistently maintained, the Commissioners being directed "to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with *the most ancient Liturgies, which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times*" (Cardw. Conf., 258). In short, *the whole point* of Anglican Reformation was that the Church at that time had so far departed from ancient *Catholic* Doctrine and Practice,

that primitive truth had become so obscure through numberless innovations, that it was imperatively necessary to remodel the entire ecclesiastical structure. In a word, the Anglican Reformers were just as insistent upon *Catholicity* as the most ardent adherent of the so-called "Catholic" party to-day. The difference is not in the *end* which each had in view. but in the particular conception which each *entertained* of it. The Anglican Reformer was no less intent upon restoring ancient Catholic Truth than Zanzibar, but what the latter now regards as Catholic, he regarded as simple, unadulterated popery. What Zanzibar now extols as the true doctrine of the primitive, undivided Church, he long ago repudiated as a gross misrepresentation thereof, the invention of a later and most corrupt period. That Zanzibar has the right to differ with the Anglican Reformers as to the correctness of these conclusions, no one, for one moment, will question. But that he has a right, *while holding these opinions*, to enter the Ministry of that Church which *they* remodelled, subscribe to the doctrines which *they* framed, and the conception of the Church and Ministry which *they* established, and then to have the impertinence to assert, *while continuing a Bishop and representative of that Church*, that he is not bound by its official doctrines and utterances, that *his individual* interpretations of what is true *Catholic* truth and practice, and not those interpretations established by Law are alone OFFICIAL and AUTHORITATIVE, that whosoever presumes to differ with him, is disloyal to the Church he professes

to represent, traitor to the vows which he has assumed therein, and should be summarily brought to trial for "HERESY" (!!), *this is simply the insanity of arrogance.* It appears, indeed, incredible that such a state of things could actually exist within the Church, and yet the fact is too patent to be denied. In every single point, the doctrines and practices peculiar to "Catholics" are in direct conflict with the official doctrines and practices of that very branch of the Universal Church they profess to represent. In every single instance they tacitly assume that their own unauthorized opinions should take precedence over those of the Reformers, despite the plain, incontrovertible fact that the views of the Reformers are the *established* doctrines of the Church.

VII

DEVELOPMENT IN THEOLOGY

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DEVELOPMENT IN THEOLOGY

THE writer of these pages is quite aware that there are some churchmen who while thoroughly sympathetic with the general aim and purpose of this work, will nevertheless criticize him for basing his argument so strongly upon the position assumed by the Anglican Reformers, and not refuting the "Catholic" theory by direct appeal to the results of modern scholarship which are in themselves amply sufficient to overthrow the mediævalism of that party. To all such criticism he replies by saying that the object of this essay was not to discuss the abstract problems relating to the origin of the present day dogmas and institutions of the Christian Faith, nor would the portrayal of the actual results of such research, however damaging to the "Catholic" hypothesis, be of any practical benefit in the present issue if considered in and by themselves alone, and not in relation to the views of the Anglican Reformers. In short, we are face to face with a purely practical problem, a proposed act of *legislation* which threatens to overthrow the *existing official position* of this Church. We are not *primarily* concerned

with the general question as to whether the official position of this Church can be regarded as correct or incorrect, in the light of recent criticism, but only with the particular question here and now confronting us, as to whether a certain proposed act of legislation can be carried out *without abandoning the foundation principles upon which this Church has been established.* It is a question of Constitutional Law, not of general scientific or theological fact. We have merely set out to prove that it is absolutely impossible for any one to assume that the theological position taken by the Anglican Reformers and incorporated into the Articles and other formularies of the Church of England is not *the present official* position of that communion as well as of this Protestant Episcopal Church, that the doctrinal position of the "Catholic" party is not *absolutely incompatible* therewith, and that the present proposition to change the name of this Church to *The American Catholic Church does not necessarily mean the entire abandonment of the official and historic position of this Church.* Having accomplished this task, we feel that our work is ended and all essentials of our argument complete. But while we have proved our case, so far as the real issue now before the Church is concerned, it may not be amiss to make a few remarks, in conclusion, in regard to the general position occupied by the Anglican Reformers in the history of Christian Theology. *There need be no fear in the minds of any that the position of the Anglican Reformers can ever be logically regarded as obsolete.* That they were in any sense infallible, or

that their theological conclusions must be regarded by us as *final* it would be folly to assume, but that they do represent a stage, a most important stage, in the *true, normal* development of theological doctrine can never be forgotten or ignored without simultaneously denying our own *doctrinal* continuity with the primitive Apostolic Church. This, we may add, is the only Succession really necessary to render any Church a true, historic branch of the original Catholic Church. We do not hesitate to take advantage of this occasion, therefore, to say here, incidentally, that the results obtained by certain Modernists of the present day in applying the scientific theory of Development in the domain of Theology, are as foreign to the idea or "*logos*" of the original germ of Christian Revelation as are the corresponding results obtained by "Catholics" and Roman theologians. In truth, it is a most significant fact, and one most comforting and reassuring to all members of the Anglican Communion, that it can be shown most conclusively that the truest, sanest, and most normal development of the original germs of Revelation has undoubtedly taken place *through* the Anglican Communion, and that while the position assumed by the Reformers of the Church of England was necessarily *incomplete*, and *far from infallible*, it was nevertheless a *normal* stage in the history of theological development, *which can never be forgotten or eliminated* without simultaneously annihilating our historic, doctrinal continuity with the Church of the Apostolic Age. The truth is that many of those who are

loudest in demanding the recognition of *the Law of Development* in Theology, are among the least acquainted with the *Scientific* principles underlying this very theory. Continuity with the past is as essential in the development of theology as it is in the development of law, and in each case such continuity must be *rational.* The individuality of any institution consists in the character of its principles and ideals. Churches, like Governments depend for their historic continuity not upon an unbroken *physical* line of persons, but upon *an unbroken spiritual development of essential* principles and ideals. We say *essential* principles and ideals. We admit that many features of a rational system more or less *important* may be omitted from time to time without destroying its *essential* continuity. Such doctrines, tenets, or principles are necessary only to the *well*-being or perfection of such a system, its full, expression or complete development, rather than to its actual *being* or continuity as a system. To the extent to which any system fails to preserve or to develop such important features, which are in logical conformity with its *essential Idea* or *"logos" to that extent it fails of being a true, normal, or healthy development.* It is still a development, however. Its essential idea has been still preserved. As a consequence, its actual being or continued, unbroken existence has been maintained, but it is nevertheless a dwarfed or arrested development. It has not fully expressed or manifested all its potentials. Nay, we may even go further. It is possible for a given system while

preserving all that is really essential to its mere being or existence so to develop one or more of its potentials, and simultaneously *suppress* the development of others, as to produce a *caricature* rather than a *normal* expression of the essential Idea. Such developments are *abnormal products, monstrosities.* Now it is of the utmost importance for us to remember these things whenever we are asked to accept such systems as Romanism, Tractarianism, or even certain conclusions of Modernism, *bearing no resemblance whatever to the doctrines of the New Testament or of the Apostolic Age* on the plea that they are "*developments*" from this primitive deposit of Christian Faith. What we have to remember is that development is not simply a continuous adjustment to environing conditions with consequent *growth* along some one or more particular lines, but *true* development is continuous adjustment to environment *with simultaneous adherence to type,* and consequent *proportional* growth in *all* directions rendered possible by the potentials of the germ. That is to say, the single drop of protoplasm from which all organisms arise, does not develop merely by meeting the demands of its environment continuously in just *any* one or more directions, regardless of the type to which it belongs. If it does so develop, the resulting product is a *monstrosity,* and not a *normally* developed organism. No matter what the demands of the environment may be, no matter how continuously it may meet these demands, and grow accordingly, such growth is not a healthy or normal development, unless it be simul-

taneously *true to the pattern, type,* or *"logos" of the original germ.* Mere growth, therefore, by constant incorporation of new material from without, even though it can boast (as all growth can) of *continuity with the past,* is neither normal nor healthy growth, unless the new materials so incorporated from without be distributed or arranged in accordance with the "logos" of the type, and unless the boasted continuity with the past can be shown to be *logical* continuity. Now this somewhat prolix, but necessary statement of the true, scientific Law of Development, applies most significantly in the present matter. The present system of Roman theology, which despite its widely different aspect from the theology of the Apostolic Age, Newman attempted to justify as a necessary growth or *"development"* therefrom, is by no means a *normal* growth or development. We do not question the fact that it is *a* development from this primitive germ. So is every monstrosity, however hideous its deformity, a development from a primitive germ. So also like every other *abnormal* product, it unquestionably possesses *continuity with the past,* and can undoubtedly lay claim to *growth.* Like the physical abnormality that has increased in bulk from a single cell to a multicellular body, by the constant absorption of new material from without, it too has grown through incorporation of new material from the changing environment of ages. It is not that it has not *grown,* and grown *continuously* from the primitive germ of Christian Revelation. The only trouble is that its growth, like the growth

of the physical abnormality, has not been a *rational* one. It has not been *in conformity to type.* It has, indeed, enormously developed along certain lines, but it has equally failed to develop along others, while certain organs or members have developed extraordinarily, they have done so at the expense of others, while some have hypertrophied, others have correspondently atrophied. While, therefore, the potentials of the original germ may each be represented by *some* organ or member, yet each such member or organ is (by hypertrophy or atrophy) a *caricature* of the original idea to be embodied, and the resulting *relations* of these parts *inter se*, so far from being a faithful expression of the original "logos," is but a deformed misrepresentation. The whole product is a *malformation*—not a *typical development.* To be a *true* development each potential of the original germ must be represented, and represented in its *true relation to all the rest—i. e.*, in the relation *prescribed by the "logos" of the type.* Moreover, while it is true that in a biological development the "logos" of the germ is never directly revealed, but only becomes manifest in the course of time, and as a consequence of development itself, it is noteworthy that this is not the case, or only partially the case, in regard to a system of *thought* in which the germ of the development is a *written constitution* or a *formal revelation of foundation principles*, such as the Canon of Holy Scripture is assumed to be for the system of thought known as Christianity. It is quite true, again, that *all* the consequences logically to be devel-

oped out of a given Constitution, are not to be anticipated, and reveal themselves only in the process of time, under different environing conditions. *In this sense*, what are called *new* developments arise: doctrines and practices not to be found actually prescribed in the original charter, but deducible therefrom either as logical possibilities or necessities—*i. e.*, corollaries. But the *fundamental principles* are always revealed in the Constitution, and any alleged development therefrom, whether actual or hypothetical, can be immediately compared with these fundamental principles (the "logos" of the germ) and its character as a *normal* or *abnormal* product immediately determined. Now it is a remarkable fact that while Newman himself was by no means ignorant of this difference between normal and "corrupt" development, and even emphasized the necessity of every development remaining true to its fundamental or typical "Idea," yet he has no sooner enunciated his principle than he proceeds to ignore it, and in the actual application of his theory mistakes an *historic association of ideas*, leading, *in unbroken continuity* from some statement of Scripture, or practice of Apostolic times, to some corresponding doctrine or practice of the mediæval Church, for a *normal* or *logical* development, when in truth its historic continuity with the primitive deposit of Christian Faith and practice argues nothing more than the like continuity of every monstrosity with its primitive ovum, and its so-called growth but the hypertrophy of an abnormal development. That

there may be an *actual historic continuity* between the reverence of the Apostles for Mary, and the subsequent Worship of the Virgin centuries after, is altogether probable. That such hyperdulia can be regarded as a *normal* and *logical* development from this primitive respect, and from her position as revealed by Holy Scripture, that it can be shown to be a practice thoroughly consonant with the teachings of Christ, and in harmony with *the "logos" of Scriptural Revelation*, is simply absurd. The very word, "*hyper*dulia," even by its etymology evidences the fact that the practice is *in excess* of such normal "*dulia*"— is, in fact, the product of *hyper*-trophy. The further fact that such "latria" (as distinguished from mere "dulia") is flat contradiction of the teachings of Holy Scripture in regard to Christ as the sole Mediator, the Worship due to God alone, etc., further shows that it is *not* conformable to the "*logos*" of Divine Revelation set forth in the New Testament. Hence the system which incorporates this dogma and practice is not a true or typical development, but an altogether *abnormal product.* Now it is a further very significant fact that while the Anglican Reformers knew nothing of any theory of development, they nevertheless never lost sight of the fact that no doctrinal tenet or ecclesiastical practice could be justified save as it was shown to be in logical harmony with the teachings of Holy Writ. Nothing could be demanded as really *necessary* which was not actually commanded in Holy Scripture itself, or could be demonstrated as a *necessary* conclusion or

corollary therefrom. This position is, in substance, identical with that assumed by the evolutionist in the doctrine of conformity to type. The result was that, in spite of his ignorance of the refinements of later day theories of Development, the Anglican Reformer was never guilty of the blunders of Tractarianism. He doubtless made mistakes, like every other normal human being. The theological system which he reared, like that which characterizes every other branch of the Catholic Church, was far from being perfect or infallible in all its details, but true as all this is, after all is said and done, it remains the purest development, the truest to the Divine Type revealed in Holy Scripture that the history of the Church has known. Whatever the limitations of his vision, his eyes were clear enough to see that the Romanism of his day was very far removed from being a true or normal expression of the primitive "logos" of revealed truth. Though, as we have said, unacquainted with any theory of Development, his own theology was the purest and sanest, because every conclusion was tested by, and compared with, the statements contained in the original charter of the Christian Faith, the only authorized statement of the acts and utterances of the Saviour which the Christian world has ever recognized, the only *official* embodiment of Divine Revelation, hence the only *Constitution* of the Church, which, in itself unalterable, must determine the bounds and limitations of all the *legislative*, *judicial* and *executive* functions of the same.

Thus the English Reformers were enabled to escape the errors of Romanism and the later mistakes of the Tractarians. They were never beguiled into believing that a mere *association of ideas* necessarily involved *the logical* development of the one out of the other, or that any unbroken catena of suggestion, dating historically from the Apostolic Age to the Council of Trent, was to be regarded as a *necessary* and *normal* development of doctrine *carried out under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.* They denied, as we have seen, that the mere reverence and respect of the Apostles for Mary, involved the *worship* accorded her by the Roman Church, as a necessary doctrinal development, divinely ordained. They denied that the normal commemoration of the heroes and martyrs of the Early Church involved the abnormal doctrine of the Invocation of Saints. They denied that the primitive belief that in the reception of the Lord's Supper the worshipper, through faith, received the undying Life of the Invisible Christ in his soul necessarily carried with it the doctrine of the transubstantiation of the physical elements, and the consequent assumption that they became the *sensible* manifestation of the Living Christ, to be bowed down to and adored. They denied that any allusion to a probable intermediate state of the departed to be gathered from certain passages of Holy Scripture necessitated the doctrine of Purgatory as a corollary therefrom. They denied that the natural prominence of Peter amongst the Apostles involved a corresponding official pre-

eminence, or that the Rock referred to in Matt. xvi., 18., could be logically interpreted to mean the Apostle himself. So for the same good logical reasons they denied that the mere use of the word "Bishop" in the New Testament, as another title for Presbyter, involved the necessary and inevitable conclusion (*Think of it!*) not merely that the Episcopate was a separate Order altogether from the Presbyterate, differentiated by Divine Command therefrom (*of which there is not one atom of evidence*), but that even this purely hypothetical "Order," was again by Divine Command, to be regarded as so absolutely *essential* to the very *being* of the Church: that wherever, for any reason, it ceased to exist, *there the Church herself ceased to exist.* We do not hesitate to assert that the Reformers were absolutely unassailable in this position. There is no more reason for accepting the theory that the Episcopate is absolutely essential to the *being* of the Church, than there is for accepting the corresponding dogma that the Papacy is thus necessary. *The reasons for the one conclusion are precisely as good for the other.* There is not a line of Scripture that justifies either conclusion, not one line that can justify the extravagant hypothesis of the Roman Church that the successors of Peter (even assuming that Peter was Bishop of Rome) were to be recognized as the Supreme Heads of Christendom, whose mandates were to be obeyed by all Churches, whose opinions upon matters of doctrine pronounced *ex cathedra* were to be respected as infallible and submission to whom, "on the part of every man

. . . is altogether necessary for his salvation" (Bull-*Unam Sanctam*); nor one line that can vindicate the equally as extravagant theory of High Churchmen that the Episcopate was established at the very outset by Divine Command, as a distinct "Order" (modern sense) from the Presbyterate, absolutely *essential* to the very *being* of the Church, that no Ministry save that which was authorized by them was to be recognized of God, no Sacrament to be regarded as valid which was not performed under their direction—no body of Christians to be respected as a "Church" which did not recognize their authority, that, in fact, "the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the Church, that without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church, nor any Christian man; no, not so much as in name." (*British Critic.*) *We say there is not* ONE LINE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE *that can be cited as proof of the truth of such conclusions, nor any number of lines which can be logically combined to demonstrate these conclusions as teachings of Holy Scripture.* Since it is explicitly stated in Art. VI., that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation," and is still further asserted in Art. XX., that "although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, *so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of Salva-*

tion"; since again, both these Articles are *official* statements of the doctrinal position of this Church on the matters in question, we assert once more without fear of logical contradiction, that neither the Anglican Reformers, nor the Church whose official formularies they established, countenance this theory (viz: that the Episcopate is necessary to the being of the Church, its Ministry, and its Sacraments) as of Scriptural Authority, and therefore necessary to be believed. To throw aside the Editorial "We," for a moment, and to speak as an individual man—*I do not hesitate to assert that the Necessity of the Episcopate to the being of the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, is a doctrine that cannot be found anywhere in Holy Scripture; one that can not be deduced as a NECESSARY logical conclusion from any passage, or passages, of Holy Scripture, that, personally, I do not believe it to be true, and I challenge any man to PROVE that my position is inconsistent with the official doctrine of the Church as set forth in her Prayer Book, Articles and other formularies, or that, to be still more specific, Articles VI. and XX. alone, do not justify me, as a loyal member of this Church, in refusing to admit that such a doctrine is required by this Church as a necessary article of belief, to which every loyal son must subscribe.* So, of course, if the doctrine cannot be *proved necessary* out of Holy Scripture, and so required of every man to be believed, it cannot be forced upon the Church as necessary, and it is idle to assert that a theory of the Church Universal which, upon the assumption that it is true, *unchurches* one-

fourth of the Christian world, pronounces their Ministry invalid, and all their Sacraments void, it is idle to assert that such a theory can be defended as having *the official* support of this Church. The truth is that modern scholars have long ago abandoned the attempt to defend the theory on the statements of Holy Scripture itself. This is well known to be impossible. They now resort to the more plausible, because more obscure, theory of doctrinal "*development.*" In short, since it is well understood that the idea of the Episcopate commonly entertained to-day, that it is a separate "Order" from the Presbyterate, the exclusive channel of Divine Grace, etc., is the outcome of a long process of historical "*development,*" the effort is now made to justify these exclusive pretensions on the ground that they are the product of *a doctrinal development* carried out *under the guidance and inspiration of the Divine Spirit ! ! !* But here, we are face to face with the same problem, by what criterion are we to decide when a so-called "*development*" is to be regarded as a true or false expression of the Divine purpose, a *normal* or *abnormal* development. Manifestly, as we have already seen, by submitting its conclusion to the test of Holy Scripture, in order that it may appear whether it be conformable or not to the fundamental and unchangeable "logos" of Divine Revelation. Now, when we apply this test in the present instance we discover that although it can be argued with good reason that Episcopacy is unquestionably *allowable* under this Divine Constitution, there is absolutely nothing in

the said Constitution to justify the conclusion that it is absolutely *essential*—that no Church can exist without it, which, please remember, is the WHOLE point of the controversy. It is certainly *allowable*, because there is nothing in the Bible to prohibit the Church from adopting what form of Government it pleases. Since the power to create what offices and officers it pleases, is divinely given to the Church, if she choose to appoint an Order of Bishops, such Bishops necessarily act with Divine Authority. It is also equally true, that if the same Church again, for any reason, prefers to abolish this office for some other governmental arrangement, *she has the Divine Right to do so*, and these new offices possess the same Divine Authority as the former. While, therefore, it can easily be shown that Bishops govern by Divine Authority in every Church which has established an Episcopal form of government, it can never be shown that in a Church which prefers to adopt a Presbyterian form of government, Presbyters do *not* govern with a like Divine Authority. While, therefore, Episcopacy as a lawful and divinely sanctioned institution, can be easily defended, on the ground that it is a *normal, historic development*, in thorough harmony with the "*logos*" of Divine Revelation, the assumption that it is *absolutely necessary to the being* of the Church, the Ministry, the Sacraments, etc., is a doctrine that can lay no claim to Divine Authority. It is *not* in harmony with the "*logos*" of Revelation, but in absolute contradiction therewith—*an abnormal "development."*

Nay, more! To show what a mere cobweb the entire theory is, even when we lay aside the statements of Holy Scripture and direct our attention to the testimony of History alone, while we find ample evidence that the Episcopate as an historic institution has been in existence in *some* form, and in *some* quarters of the Christian world, from the days of the Apostles downward (so amply vindicating the statement in the Preface to our Ordinal that "from the Apostle time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons") yet we are able to discover no statements whatever in the writings of any of the early Fathers that in any way prove that they regarded the Episcopate as necessary to the *being* of the Church, because the only channel through which the Divine Authority originally given to the Apostles could be transmitted. Even so prejudiced a writer as Newman does not hesitate to admit this, saying that "if, in order that a doctrine be considered Catholic, it must be formally stated by the Fathers generally from the very first, . . . *the doctrine also of the Apostolical Succession in the Episcopal Order 'has not the faintest pretensions of being a Catholic truth.'*" (*Development of Christ. Doctrine*, p. 14.) He contends that the evidence for the truth of this doctrine is *of precisely the same kind as that which supports the dogma of Papal Supremacy—a fact which we most cheerfully concede. The one is just as worthy to be believed as the other.* Neither is justified by any statement of Holy Scripture—neither can claim to be a *true* development conforming to the

"logos" of Holy Scripture, but both are *abnormal* products of a mere association of ideas by no means following as a necessary conclusion from the data of Revelation. In fact, nothing is more certain than that no *one* form of Ecclesiastical Government is laid down as *necessary* or *essential* in Holy Scripture. To claim New Testament authority for the theory that the Episcopal form is *absolutely essential* to the *being* of the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, when the Episcopate is not even mentioned in the New Testament *as a separate and superior "Order,"* nor any form of government alluded to as existing save that of Bishops *or* Presbyters (one and the same Order) and further to claim that such a baseless theory was fastened upon this Church as an official doctrine by the Anglican Reformers, is to found the theology of *Ecclesia Anglicana* upon a tissue of assumptions no less unreal and fanciful as that which supports the air castle of the Papacy. We have already shown conclusively from the statements of the Anglican Reformers themselves, as well as from numerous official acts of the Church herself in recognizing other forms of Ecclesiastical Government, their Ministry and their Sacraments, that the Anglican Reformers did not regard the Episcopal form of Government as in any sense *essential.* We have quoted the words of no less a "Catholic" authority than Keble that "they never venture to urge its *exclusive* claim, or to connect the succession *with the validity of the Holy Sacraments,*" and also the statement of Blunt that "it was not *until the close of the*

Sixteenth Century that *the distinction* between the Orders of Bishops and Priests was asserted." It should not be necessary to extend the evidence further. As, however, the impression that the Reformers regarded the Episcopal Government as necessary in the Church is so deep rooted, we will risk the quotation of a few more extracts from their writings. Says Archbishop Whitgift, "I confess that in a Church collected together in one place, and at liberty, government is necessary in the *second kind* of necessity, but that any ONE KIND of government is so necessary that without it the Church cannot be saved, or that it cannot be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient, I utterly deny. And the reasons that move me so to do, are these. The first is because I FIND NO ONE CERTAIN AND PERFECT KIND OF GOVERNMENT, PRESCRIBED OR COMMANDED IN THE SCRIPTURES OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST. . . . So that notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, *touching the outward form and perfection of it*, yet it is not such a part of the *essence* or *being*, but that it may be the Church of Christ *without this or that kind* of government, and therefore THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH IS NOT NECESSARY UNTO SALVATION." (*Works*, vol. i., p. 184.) Again, "I DENY THAT THE SCRIPTURES DO . . . SET DOWN ANY ONE CERTAIN FORM AND KIND OF GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH TO BE PERPETUAL FOR ALL TIMES, PERSONS, AND PLACES WITHOUT ALTERATION." (*Id.*, p. 184.) Dr. John Bridges writes:

"This be not a matter of necessity, but such as may be varied, being *but a form and manner of Ecclesiastical Government . . . that in the nature thereof is as much indifferent as the solemnizing this or that day the memorial of the Lord's Resurrection . . . therefore . . . we ought neither to condemn, nor speak, nor think evil of other good Churches that use another Ecclesiastical Government than we do, neither ought they to do the like of ours.*" (*Defense of Gov. Estab. in Ch. England*, pp. 319, 320.) "As for this question of Church Government," declares Bishop Cooper, "I mean not at this time to stand much on it. . . . ONLY THIS I DESIRE, THAT THEY WILL LAY DOWN OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD SOME JUST PROOFS, AND A DIRECT COMMANDMENT, THAT THERE SHOULD BE IN ALL AGES AND STATES OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST ONE ONLY FORM OF OUTWARD GOVERNMENT. . . . Surely, as grave learned men as most that have written in this time . . . do make good proof of this proposition: THAT ONE FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS NOT NECESSARY IN ALL TIMES AND PLACES OF THE CHURCH." (*Admon. to People of Eng.*, pp. 61–63.)

Dr. Richard Cosin, Dean of the Arches (1584) inquires, "Are all the Churches of Denmark, Sweveland, Poland, Germany, Rhetia, Vallis, Telluria," etc. . . . "in all points, either of substance or of circumstance, disciplinated alike? Nay, they neither are, can be, nor yet need so to be: SEEING THAT IT CANNOT BE PROVED THAT ANY SET AND EXACT PARTICULAR FORM THEREOF IS RECOMMENDED UNTO US BY THE WORD OF GOD." (*Answer to an Abstract*, p. 58.) To

the same effect is the testimony of Richard Hooker, than whom there is no greater authority. He says, "But we must note, that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary among all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak *one kind* of language. *Even so the necessity of Polity and Regiment in all Churches may be held* WITHOUT HOLDING ANY ONE CERTAIN FORM TO BE NECESSARY IN THEM ALL." (*Eccles. Polity*, book iii., ch. ii. i., p. 352.) He has just stated, a few lines in advance, that "Church-Polity . . . containeth both *Government* and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in public." Moreover, it may be added that *the whole point* of the controversy with the Puritans on the subject of Episcopacy, lay in the contention of the English Divines that although Episcopacy was *not* commanded in Holy Scripture, that nevertheless it was ALLOWABLE, because NO ONE FORM of Government had been commanded therein, hence the Church was left at liberty to adopt what form she pleased. In fact, nothing is more patent to any one who reads the account of these controversies, and this in itself should settle the whole question, as to the attitude assumed by the Anglican Divines. On this point, Hooker further testifies as follows:—"It hath been told them (the Puritans) that MATTERS OF FAITH, and in general MATTERS NECESSARY UNTO SALVATION are of a DIFFERENT NATURE from ceremonies, order, and THE KIND OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT: that the one *is necessary to be expressly contained in the Word of God*,

or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other NOT SO: that it is necessary *not* to receive the one, unless there be something in Scripture for them; *the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alleged:* . . . (The Puritans allege that) MATTERS OF DISCIPLINE AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT are matters NECESSARY TO SALVATION and 'OF FAITH,' whereas WE *put a difference between the one and the other.*" Again, he says, "Two things misliked (by the Puritans) the one, that WE DISTINGUISH MATTERS OF DISCIPLINE AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT from MATTERS OF FAITH AND NECESSARY UNTO SALVATION. . . . Their words (*i. e.*, the Puritans) are these. . . . YOU say, MATTERS NECESSARY TO SALVATION AND OF FAITH ARE CONTAINED IN SCRIPTURE. . . . YOU OPPOSE THESE THINGS TO CEREMONIES, ORDER, DISCIPLINE, AND GOVERNMENT." (*Id.*) Nothing could be plainer than these words. A little later on, we find even Lord Bacon, a layman, testifying to the same effect, "That there should be ONE FORM OF DISCIPLINE IN ALL CHURCHES, and that imposed *by necessity* of a commandment and prescript out of the Word of God . . . I, for my part, do confess, that in revolving the Scriptures, *I could never find any such thing: but that God had left the like liberty to the Church Government, as He had done to the Civil Government; to be varied according to time, and place, and accidents, which nevertheless His high and divine Providence doth order and dispose.* . . . So likewise in Church Matters, the *substance of Doctrine* is immutable; and so are the general rules of govern-

ment, but for rites and ceremonies, *and for the particular HIERARCHIES, policies, and Discipline of Churches, they be left at large.*" (Cert. Consid. touching Pacif. of Church, *Works*, ed. 1819, vol. ii., pp. 529, 530.) And so we might continue such quotations indefinitely.

Finally, if there are any who, in spite of all this evidence are still disposed to question our assertion that the Church does not regard the Episcopate as absolutely *essential* and who are unwilling (however unreasonably) to accept the plain statements of such prominent authorities as Whitgift Bridges, Cooper, Dr. Richard Cosin, Hooker, and numbers of others, on the ground that, however prominent or illustrious, their words express only their private opinions, and can not be cited as official, yet, in spite of all this, we will go further and endeavour to satisfy their scepticism on this point also. To those who cannot see that the official recognition of non-episcopal bodies as true Churches is synonymous with the official recognition of the validity of other forms of Church Government than the Episcopal, which is again official recognition of the fact that Episcopacy is not *essential* to the *being* of the Church, hence again that no *one* form of Government is essential in the Church of God (which is precisely what the above mentioned writers have told us): to those, we say, who because of some peculiarity of their mental constitution are not able to appreciate that fact, we will present something more direct and tangible. In the very opening sentences of the Preface to our Prayer Book, we are

distinctly told that matters of "*Discipline*"—*i. e., Church Government*—are things that may be "*altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or otherwise disposed of*" as the Church deems fit—hence, that no *one* form of "Discipline" or Government can be laid down as indispensable. This is such a plain statement, and so clear a justification of our whole contention, that to one who is not burdened with the necessity of proving the truth of another theory, it would never, perhaps, be called in question. Yet, even so, we realize that there are some who will attempt to urge frivolous and captious objections to this interpretation upon the ground that the word "Discipline" here used, is too broad and indefinite in its significance to be insisted upon in this connection. This, however, will not do. There are but three meanings attached to the word in theological literature. First, it is used quite commonly to refer to certain methods of punishment employed by a Church, or a religious organization of some sort, towards the transgressors of its rules and practices; second, it is employed specifically as denoting *government* or *regimen* itself, and in contrast with such words as rites, ceremonies, etc.; third, it is employed oftentimes, again, in a general sense, as referring to everything connected with the *practical machinery* of the Church, in contrast with its abstract principles of belief, termed—*Doctrine*. Now, as it is self-evident that it cannot be used here in the first sense, it follows, of course, that it must be used in one of the two remaining senses, and as *both* of these com-

prehend the matter of Government, it is a matter of indifference which one may be preferred, as in either case our point is established. To be more specific, if used here in the Preface in the second sense, it refers directly to Government and nothing else; if used in the third sense, it *includes* Government along with rites and ceremonies. There is absolutely no way of escape, therefore, from admitting that the Church has here *officially* set her seal to the above assertions of some of her most eminent expositors, and that here, as in most other cases, the "judicious" Hooker can be pretty well depended upon as expressing her *authorized* teaching. But, even if we did not have this evidence before us, a little reflection upon this statement of the Preface should thoroughly convince any one that the matter of Government is necessarily implied. Thus, it is distinctly stated that "in every Church, what cannot be clearly determined to belong to *Doctrine, must be referred to Discipline;* and, *therefore* (*i. e., for that very reason*), *by common consent and authority, may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or otherwise disposed of, as may seem most convenient,*" etc. Now as matters of Church *Government* or *Polity* are certainly distinct from matters of *Doctrine* they "must be referred to Discipline; and, therefore, by common consent and authority, *may be altered.*" Nor would it do our opponents any good to resort to the extravagant hypothesis, that the Form of Government or Polity of the Church *is* a matter of Doctrine, for aside from the fact that this is contrary to all ecclesiastical usage,

this assumption would be of no use to them whatever, unless they could further show that it was a Doctrine absolutely ESSENTIAL, *for that is the whole point at issue.* There are many *minor* points of Doctrine in which even "Catholics" admit that they differ, many doctrines of the Greek and Roman Churches which the "Catholics" within our Communion cannot subscribe to, but which they do not regard as of such magnitude as to exclude these bodies, the Greek and Roman Communions from the Church Catholic. A mere difference in point of Doctrine does not in itself, therefore, necessarily mean anything of serious importance. The Doctrine must be an ESSENTIAL one, if failure to hold it means exclusion from the Church Catholic. Assuming, then, that the matter of Episcopal Government is a matter of Doctrine, what of it? It must be either a Doctrine which is essential or non-essential. If the latter, the failure of any particular body of Christians to believe in it and to adopt it, *does not exclude them from the Catholic Church.* Hence, in this event, our contention is admitted. It must, therefore, be assumed to be an ESSENTIAL doctrine, if the "Catholic" argument is to stand. Where then is this ESSENTIAL Doctrine set forth by the Church? The Creeds are usually assumed to contain all, the *essential Doctrines* of the Church: Where do the Creeds assert that the Episcopal Form of Government is ESSENTIAL or NECESSARY to the BEING of the Church? The Thirty-nine Articles treat of various doctrinal questions, more or less important, but where, even in them, is

the Episcopal form of Government asserted to be ESSENTIAL to the BEING of the Church? But we need not stop with this mere *negative* argument. It is *positively* asserted by the Church, both in the VI. and XXII. Articles, that *no Doctrine which is not actually to be read in Holy Scripture, or can be proved directly therefrom is to be required of any one as ESSENTIAL.* NOW THERE IS NOT A SINGLE PASSAGE IN THE ENTIRE BIBLE WHEREIN THE EPISCOPAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS ASSERTED TO BE NECESSARY TO THE BEING OF THE CHURCH, NOR IS THERE A SINGLE PASSAGE FROM WHICH SUCH A PROPOSITION CAN BE DEDUCED AS A NECESSARY CONCLUSION. It is notorious that the Episcopate, as a separate Order, and claiming the exclusive prerogatives now assigned to it by "Catholics" is nowhere to be found in the New Testament nor is there a single line of Scripture that supports any of these assumptions, much less its alleged NECESSITY to the very BEING of the Church. Even the best writers in defence of "catholic" theories now admit this, and do not pretend to defend their tenets upon any direct statements *of the Bible* respecting Episcopacy. On the contrary, they admit everything that their opponents affirm on this point, and say freely that although the Episcopate as a separate Order is not to be found in the New Testament, nor anything respecting its necessity, yet that we find the *Apostles* in the New Testament exercising a certain superintendence over the Churches, and in *the next century* we find a class of men called *Bishops* exercising a like superintendence, and evi-

dently having succeeded to the office and authority of the Apostles. Thus the appeal is an appeal to *History*—not to any direct statement of *the Scriptures*, and even when the facts of Scripture are considered in connection with these subsequent historic facts, the "catholic" *interpretation* of them is problematic in the extreme, and moreover when dealt with in the most partial and sympathetic manner, under no circumstances can it be regarded as *a certain or necessary conclusion.* We shall discuss this matter presently, but it is sufficient here and now to observe that (a) the Apostles' own statements contradict the very first assumption that they occupied a position as a separate "*Order*" over and above the Presbyterate; (b) that the position occupied by the Bishops of the Second Century was by no means identical with that which is now claimed for them by "Catholics," nor was the Episcopate as then conceived, universally recognized throughout the Church; nor, finally, (c) according to the statements of the best modern scholars (*e. g.*, Lightfoot) is there any warrant whatever for the assumption that these Bishops of the Second Century succeeded to the office and authority of the Apostles, whatever that may have been. At best then, the "Catholic view is a *theory* only, and whatever *circumstantial* evidence may be brought forward to lend it *plausibility*, it is ABSOLUTELY SAFE TO SAY THAT IT CAN NEVER BE *DEMONSTRATED* AS CERTAIN; YET IF ESSENTIAL—NECESSARY TO THE VERY *BEING* OF THE CHURCH *IT MUST BE DEMONSTRABLE.* Moreover, if an *essential* doctrine,

it must be *explicitly* set forth somewhere in the formularies of the Church—*i. e., in so many words*, not by *implication.* It is only non-essentials that may be left to inference. In conclusion, then, it may be said that it was to guard against just this very class of more or less *probable* hypotheses being thrust upon the Church as ESSENTIAL DOCTRINES, that Art. VI. was framed. No tenet however *plausible* or *reasonable* was to be FORCED upon the Church as an ESSENTIAL doctrine, *i. e.*, "*required . . . that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation*" that could not be actually FOUND IN THE BIBLE ITSELF, either actually "READ THEREIN," or at least "PROVED thereby." Now it is simply preposterous for any man to assert that the doctrine "NO BISHOP, NO CHURCH" can be actually "READ" in Holy Scripture, or "PROVED THEREBY"; *ergo*, whatever else may be said of it, it is certainly not an ESSENTIAL DOCTRINE of the Church—hence cannot be made an instrument of excommunication from the Catholic Church. But, we have only digressed thus far to be accommodating to all objectors. As a matter of fact, it is contrary to all ecclesiastical usage to assume that FORMS OF GOVERNMENT OR POLITY are to be classed under "*Doctrine*," rather than under "*Discipline.*" We have already produced the necessary evidence to prove that the Church has here, in the Preface to the Prayer Book, alluded to "Government" as one of the matters included under the word "Discipline." We need only add that all doubt of this being the true

interpretation, will be removed, if any one will take the trouble to look up the same word in the authorized Canons of the Church of England. Thus, we read in Canon 7, of the Church of England:—"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the *Government* (*regimen et disciplinam*) of the Church of England under his Majesty by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is antichristian, or repugnant," etc. And again, Canon 9, "Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the Communion of Saints . . . accounting the Christians who are conformable to the *doctrine, GOVERNMENT* (*disciplinæ*), *rites*, and *ceremonies* of the Church of England, to be profane," etc. It will be seen in this last Canon that "*Discipline*" refers *specifically* to *Government* as *distinguished from Doctrine, Rites, and Ceremonies;* while, in the former it is used again as specifically in the same sense—the *Government by Archbishops, Bishops*, etc. There is no shadow of doubt, therefore that the word as thus used in the official literature of the Church always *comprehends* "Government" along with Rites and Ceremonies, and everything else which is *not* Doctrine, or else refers to Government *alone*. Consequently, there is not a shadow of doubt but that the Church comprehends or includes Government, as among those matters of "Discipline," which she OFFICIALLY asserts (in the Preface to the Prayer Book) may be "*altered*" or *changed* when circumstances really demand it. No matter what view of the matter, "Catholics" may elect, then, the possi-

bility of proving that Episcopal Government is *necessary*—ay, even to the very BEING of the Church, is wholly out of the question. Whether you prefer to class this matter *logically* under "Discipline," or *illogically* under "Doctrine" is a matter of indifference to us so far as the result is concerned, for in either case, the Church *officially* asserts that it is *not* an ESSENTIAL matter, hence cannot be forced upon Christendom as a *sine qua non* of membership in the Church Catholic. Whatever, then, may be the *popular* theory of the Episcopate, WHO REPRESENTS THE *OFFICIAL* VIEW? AGAIN WE CHALLENGE ZANZIBAR OR ANY OF HIS FELLOW "CATHOLICS" IN AMERICA TO PROVE HIS CHARGE OF "HERESY," TO PROVE THAT ANY MINISTER OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IS FALSE TO HIS CHURCH WHO MAINTAINS A SPECIFICALLY "*PROTESTANT*" (AS OPPOSED TO "*CATHOLIC*") VIEW OF THE EPISCOPATE WHEN OFFICIATING EITHER IN A CHURCH WHICH OFFICIALLY PROCLAIMS ITSELF "THE *PROTESTANT* EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND" (Declaration, Act of Parliament, 1828), OR "THE *PROTESTANT* EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. (Title-page, Prayer Book.) How can *Protestantism* be "*heresy*" in a *Protestant* Church; or—better still, How can "*Catholic*" doctrines be *orthodox* and *Official* therein?

VIII

CONCLUSION

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AS we have intimated before, the crux of the "Catholic" theory of the Episcopate consists in the assumption that the Episcopate is a separate "Order" from the Presbyterate, and not merely an "Office" or "Degree" within this last Order. As the distinction is by no means well understood by the public, and yet as it is vital to the discussion, we must emphasize it somewhat further. Without entering into technical theological definitions, it is sufficient for our present purpose to illustrate this distinction by a familiar example. Thus, every one knows that the distinction between a Deacon and a Bishop on the one hand, is much greater than that between a Bishop and an Archbishop, or (to illustrate by reference to our own Communion) between any one of our Diocesan Bishops and the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The first distinction is one that involves spiritual gifts and functions of widely divergent character, the other is a mere arbitrary distinction, devised by man for purposes of expediency only, and involving no distinction of spiritual power or prerogative

whatever. The *office* of Presiding Bishop is endowed with no peculiar *spiritual* power or authority, not characteristic of other Bishops. He possesses the same, but no greater spiritual authority. He is merely authorized by his Church or Order to exercise certain powers, and perform certain functions for, and representing, the whole Body of the Church or Order, which powers and function are inherent or potential in them, and only exercised by him as their delegate. Moreover, as an actual matter of fact, these powers and functions are, for the most part, of a material and economic character, relating to the mere machinery of government, and are not of a spiritual or sacramental nature. While, therefore, it may be difficult to give a definition that would be strictly accurate, we may summarize the essence of the distinction as follows:

(1) AN ORDER OF THE MINISTRY is a class of individuals endowed with certain specific SPIRITUAL powers, peculiar to them alone, which powers because SPIRITUAL are necessarily from above—that is, of Divine origin and authority whether (a) conferred directly or immediately upon the group as such, or whether (b) conferred indirectly or mediately through the body of the whole Church as the original reservoir of such Divine Power.

(2) AN OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY, on the other hand, is possessed of no SPIRITUAL power PECULIAR TO ITSELF AS SUCH, but is merely a position of honor or eminence assigned to certain individuals for the purpose of EXERCISING (only) certain powers DELE-

GATED to them by the Church, or by the Order to which they belong, and is an institution which may or may not lay claim to Apostolic origin.

Now, according to "Catholic" theory, Bishops are an *Order*, not an *Office*, of the Ministry. That is to say, according to their view of the matter, the Apostles acting under express command of Christ, established *three* distinct Orders—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and that to the first of these was given as their peculiar and specific characteristic, the *exclusive* power of Ordination. On the other hand, *all the Anglican Reformers, the great majority of the Fathers and the Schoolmen, and practically all modern scholars* agree in asserting that there is no warrant for this assumption in the language of the New Testament, but that, on the contrary, all the evidence goes to show that from the very beginning Bishop and Presbyter constituted *one and the same Order*, and that the priority of rank apparently enjoyed by such persons as Timothy and Titus indicates nothing more than a mere *Office* or *Presidency* in the *one Order* of *Presbyter-Bishops*, an Office differing in no essential respect from that enjoyed to-day by our own Presiding Bishop in the college or assembly of his *equals in Order*—the House of Bishops; and that aside from the fact that in the very beginning no ordinations were performed by him *without the co-operation of his fellow Presbyter-Bishops in the act*, no subsequent practice of ordaining without their co-operation can be regarded as anything more than a mere *delegation* of the authority of the

Presbytery which still possesses the *inherent* right and power of its Order.

The evidence for this conclusion may be briefly summarized as follows:—First of all, no one questions the fact that Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons are spoken of in the New Testament, but it is now well-nigh universally conceded, even by "Catholics" themselves, that in the New Testament the words "Bishop" and "Elder" (or "Presbyter") are used indifferently in reference to *the same* Order of persons. Thus, we read in Acts xx., 17, *et seq.*, as follows: "And from Miletus he (Paul) sent to Ephesus, and called the *Elders* of the Church. And when they were come to him, he said unto them . . . Take heed . . . unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers"—ἐπισκόπους, *Bishops*. Again, Paul commands Titus to "ordain *Elders* in every city as I had appointed thee, if any be blameless, the husband of one wife, etc. . . . for a *Bishop* must be blameless," etc. (Titus 1. 5). Moreover, the only Orders of Ministers referred to by St. Paul in 2 Tim. iii., when expounding the duties of the Ministry, are "*Bishops*" (or Elders) and "*Deacons*," and likewise in his Epistle to the Philippians, the only Ministers to whom he sends salutation are the "*Bishops* and *Deacons*"—a most extraordinary omission, if there were another Order of Elders there in that congregation distinct from the Bishops. Even if we should shut our eyes to this inexplicable difficulty, and assume that the Bishops here referred to were

Bishops in the modern acceptation of the term, we should then be face to face with the further difficulty of a *number* of Bishops presiding over the *one* Church in the city of Philippi, without the assistance of Presbyters, and only aided in their work by Deacons, a state of affairs altogether incompatible with "Catholic" theory. While there is for these obvious reasons no possibility of proving that the Bishops here spoken of in the New Testament were a separate Order, over and above Presbyters (and this line of argument is now generally abandoned) yet it is nevertheless contended that the Apostles themselves, at that time, constituted this *third* or *highest* Order—that they, and they alone *ordained*, and *governed*, and further appointed others (as for example Timothy and Titus) to *their* Order to ordain and govern after their decease, so that although there has been a change in name, there has been no change in fact, but from the very beginning *three* Orders have actually existed. Thus, during the Apostles' lifetime, the three Orders were characterized as follows:

1st Order	*2d Order*	*3d Order*
Apostles.	Bishops or Elders.	Deacons.

After the decease of the original Apostles, however, their successors in the first Order—out of respect to the memory of these founders of the Church—gave up the name or title of "Apostles," and called themselves "Bishops," while the second Order simultaneously surrendered the title of "Bishop," and called themselves Elders or Presbyters only.

Thus, the foregoing arrangement was converted into the following:

1st Order.	*2d Order.*	*3d Order.*
Bishops.	Elders or Presbyters.	Deacons.

Now the objections to this explanation are many and weighty.

(1st) There is nothing whatever to warrant this assumption that the Apostles considered themselves a *third* Order *over and above* Elders or Presbyters but, on the contrary, the Apostles *repeatedly identify themselves with this very Order, referring to themselves as Elders.*

(2d) The Apostles *never ordained alone,* but always *in conjunction with* these Elders, *with whom they identified themselves.*

(3d) The Apostles *never governed alone,* but always in connection with the Elders or Presbyters.

Thus, in evidence of the truth of the first assertion, we find the Apostle Peter characterizing himself as an Elder in 1 Peter v., 1, "The Elders which are among you I exhort, *who am also an Elder.*" Also St. John, in writing to "the elect lady" (2 John i.), and to "the well beloved Gaius" (3 John i.) speaks of himself as "*the Elder.*"

In proof of the second, we find St. Paul writing to Timothy—"Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, *with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*" (2 Tim. iv., 1), a passage which offsets the interpretation too often placed upon 2 Tim. i., 6, to the effect that St. Paul

alone laid hands upon him is thoroughly in line with all the evidence of the age immediately succeeding. It is the justification, and the only justification of the existing practice of the Church to-day, and which has come down from the very days of the Apostles, in which *the attending Presbyters invariably take part with the Bishop in the laying on of hands* (*Vide—Rubric, Ordering of Priests*).

Finally, in regard to the third proposition, it can be easily proved from a number of references, that the Apostles were never accustomed to act independently of the Elders in any matters connected with the general government of the Church. In every instance, whether the question were one of doctrine or discipline, appeal was made to "the Apostles *and Elders*," and the official decisions and decrees thereon, were always set forth in the name of "the Apostles *and Elders.*" Thus, in regard to the great dissension concerning Circumcision (one of the very first disputes to arise within the Church) it was "the Apostles *and Elders* (that) came together for to consider of this matter" (Acts xv., 6). It was again "the Apostles *and Elders, with the whole Church*" (Acts xv., 22) that sent delegates to the Churches in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia—it was "the Apostles *and Elders and brethren*" that addressed the official communication, etc., and finally, it was "*the decrees*" . . . that were ordained by the Apostles *and Elders*" (*Id.*, xvi., 4) that the Churches of Asia Minor looked upon as authoritative.

When, therefore, we take these three significant

facts into consideration—(a) That the Apostles never *ordained* alone, but always in connection with the Elders or Presbyters; (b) That they never *governed* alone, but always in conjunction with the Elders; and (c) That they clearly *identified themselves with the Order of Elders or Presbyters*, the conclusion is irresistible that whatever difference existed between them and the rest of the Elders associated with them was one of *OFFICE*, not one of *ORDER*. In short, there is nothing in the New Testament to warrant the assumption that the apparent priority of the Apostles, and such individuals as Timothy and Titus after them, among their *fellow Elders* or *Presbyters*, was anything more than an *Office* of *Presidency*. They were simply *Presiding* Elders, but *always Elders; Moderators* and *Directors* of the Presbytery, but having no power to act in any matter, either of *Ordination* or of *Government*, independently, as *a separate Order*. In other words, there is nothing in the language of the New Testament respecting Timothy, Titus, or any other representative of the so-called *third* Order that has not its analogy in the language commonly in use today respecting our Presiding Bishops, or Archbishops. If Titus is authorized, personally, to "set in order" the affairs of the Church, so also is the Presiding Bishop of this Church authorized by Canon to do the same—if the former is authorized to "ordain Elders in every city," so also is the Presiding Bishop of this Church authorized by Canon to "take order for the Consecration" of every Bishop of the same, is commanded by Rubric to preside over and conduct the

entire Service of Consecration, and, in spite of the fact that he is always assisted by other Bishops in the Laying on of Hands, is none the less officially regarded as "*the* Consecrator." If, in the face of all these significant expressions, it remains a fact that the Presiding Bishop *is still a Bishop and nothing more*, and that this language was not intended to imply that he belonged to a *separate Order*, or that he and he *alone* really bestowed Consecration, the other Bishops only joining in the ceremony of the Laying on of Hands *as a mere courtesy, and not actually transmitting any Divine Grace, why should we inconsistently reverse our entire position when we come to consider the position of Timothy or Titus?* The truth is there is no justification for such assumptions, and while there is doubtless good evidence of a certain priority of *Office*, in the case of these men, there is absolutely no evidence of any distinction of *Order*. Like the Presiding Bishops amongst their fellow Bishops to-day, these men doubtless presided over the assemblies of their fellow Elders or Presbyters, "set in order" the affairs of the Churches, took order for the ordinations of others, actually superintended and conducted the service of Ordination, and may even have been regarded as "*the* Consecrators" or "ordainers." There is absolutely nothing to show that they exercised any of these powers independently of their fellow Presbyters, *as a separate exclusive and superior Order*, nothing to show that in "setting in order" the affairs of the Churches, they did so independently of the Presbytery, nothing to show

that in laying their hands upon others, they were not assisted in the act of ordination by the "laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," nor, for the same reason, we may add, is there anything to show that this laying on of the hands of the Presbyterate (which remember *we continue to observe to this day*) was any the less *a real transmission of Divine Power and Authority* than is the corresponding act in the case of the Bishops to-day when assisting the Presiding Bishop in the Service of Consecration. After all is said and done, therefore, it remains an undeniable fact that *Presbyters do ordain to-day, in conjunction with their Bishops just as truly and as authoritatively as the Assisting Bishops do truly and authoritatively consecrate in connection with their Presiding Bishop*, and there is no more reason to explain away the first as a mere meaningless and empty rite, than there is to fix a like interpretation upon the second.

Finally, not only does all the evidence afforded by the New Testament lead to the conclusion that there were but these *two* Orders (Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons) but *all the evidence of the next succeeding centuries* goes to show that this was the general understanding of the early Church, and that even after the duties of the Presiding Elder had become *more pronounced*, and matters of government and ordination more and more left to his care and direction, as a matter of economy, the fact that these powers were merely *delegated* by the sovereign Presbytery, that his was a mere *function* or *Office* of that Order, and not an independent Order in itself, was

never forgotten. In short, the present idea of the Episcopate is the result only of a long process of evolution, and it is only within a comparatively recent period that the identity of Bishop and Presbyter in point of *Order*, with its necessary corollary, the inherent power of Presbyters to ordain, has become so obscured, that it has even been forgotten in some quarters. Yet, as we have already said, if even so prejudiced a writer as Blunt candidly admits this—declaring that "it was not until the close of the Sixteenth Century that the *distinction* between the Orders of Bishops and Priests was asserted," how can "Catholics" maintain that this "distinction" was of *Apostolic* origin, and universally admitted *by the early* Church, or wherein is our position incredible?[1]

But while it is hardly fair for our good "Catholic" friends to dispute the words of an authority so weighty with them, yet for the sake of argument we will nevertheless proceed to give a summary (necessarily brief) of the evidence supporting this conclusion. In doing so, we wish particularly to call attention to the fact that even the Ignatian Epistles, upon which the advocates of exclusive Episcopacy are prone to lay so much stress, with all the emphasis which they undoubtedly place upon the *Office* of

[1] So also, the Rev. Wm. Maskell tells us: "The balance of authority, *even from the earliest ages*, certainly inclines to consider the Episcopate, as an Order, *to be identical with the Priesthood*, but the completion of it" (*Mon. Rit.*, vol. III., lxxxii, *et. seq.*). We believe Mr. Maskell is one of the foremost authorities with High Churchmen generally.

Bishop, give absolutely no evidence of an Episcopal *Order*, governing and ordaining *without the assistance of the Presbyterate*, THE WHOLE POINT TO BE PROVED, whereas they, indirectly, and much contemporary literature, directly, confirm the opinion that the two were identical in point of Order.

A.D. 90 TO A.D. 200

Clemens Romanus. (30–100?) (*Epistle to the Corinthians*, 95–97?) Bishops and Presbyters identified as one and *the same Order*. Author clearly states that the Apostles appointed only "*Bishops and Deacons*," but calls the former "Bishops" or "Presbyters" indifferently.

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. (95–105.) Refers only to the *two Orders* of Bishops or Elders, and Deacons. "Appoint for yourselves, therefore, *Bishops and Deacons* worthy of the Lord."[1]

Ignatian Epistles. (107–116.) We refer here only to the seven "genuine" epistles, so-called, for all the others ascribed to Ignatius are now universally acknowledged to be spurious. The emphasis here placed upon the *Office* of Bishop is marked, but, as we have said before, there is nothing to indicate that the Bishopric was

[1] Note. The travelling missionaries mentioned in this document and termed "Apostles," were, like the Prophets and Teachers also spoken of, no part of the permanent organization of the Ministry, and had no connection with *the* Apostles of the New Testament, or their supposed successors, the Presidents of the Assemblies. There are abundant references to such "apostles" both in the New Testament and the early fathers.

regarded as a separate *Order*, governing and ordaining independently of the Presbyterate, but much evidence to the contrary. Thus,

(1) *Ephesians.* Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, all mentioned, and the first prominently, but the *government* of the Church is in hands of *Bishop and Presbytery conjointly.* "It is, therefore meet for you in every way to glorify Jesus Christ who glorified you; that . . . submitting yourselves to your *Bishop and Presbytery*, ye may be sanctified in all things." "Obey the *Bishop and Presbytery* without distraction of mind." No references to Ordination.

(2) *Magnesians.* Like the former epistle, affords evidence that the Church here was governed by a Bishop *in conjunction with* the Presbyters—no evidence of a separate Order. "Neither do ye anything without the Bishop *and the Presbyters.*" No references to Ordination.

(3) *Trallians.* Evidence substantially the same as in preceding Epistles with regard to Bishops and Presbyters; but note, Ignatius refers to himself as *not* possessing the authority of an Apostle, thus implying that he did *not regard himself as a Successor of the Apostle.* This is fatal to the "Catholic" view, and in line with all the other evidence that the original Bishops succeeded to the Apostles *only in so far as the Apostles were the Presiding Elders*, and not to any *exclusive* powers and prerogatives of an

Apostolate *per se*, which *before the organization* of Churches they may have been compelled to exercise.[1]

(4) *Romans.* No evidence afforded as to constitution of the Ministry. Again asserts that he is not an Apostle. "I do not enjoin you, as Peter and Paul did. They were Apostles, I am a convict; they were free, but I am a slave to this very hour."

(5) *Philadelphians.* Evidence substantially the same as to constitution of the Ministry. It is noteworthy, however, that he distinctly asserts that "*the Apostles are the Presbytery of the Church.*"

(6) *Smyrnæans.* Necessity of being at unity with the Bishop as the head of the governing Presbytery and of the Church emphasized, but still no evidence to prove that he either governed or ordained *independently.* Like language might be applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury today, as the governing head of the Church of England, without necessitating the conclusion

[1] What we mean to say is that there is no evidence that the Apostolate *per se* was ever intended to be perpetuated in the Church. As the *founders* or *organizers* of the Church, they (the Apostles) necessarily had work to do, and functions to perform which were in themselves unique; but once the Church was established and *a definite Ministry organized*, there is nothing to warrant the assumption that they continued to exercise these peculiar functions, and did not, on the contrary, identify themselves with the highest Order of that Ministry they had established—occupying nothing more than a mere *Office* of Presidency therein, to which, in time, others succeeded.

that an Archbishop belongs to a higher *Order* in the Ministry than a Bishop

(7) *Epis. to Polycarp.* What evidence there is substantially the same as above, but less stress laid upon the subject than in the former Epistles.

Note. The extreme emphasis placed in all the above Ignatian Epistles upon the importance of the Bishopric is *suggestive* of the possibility that it may have occupied the position assigned to it by "Catholics," but when we have said this, we have said everything. There is absolutely nothing in the above to *prove* their theory, and, on the contrary, much to render it questionable for the same praise or eulogy can be, and *has often been*, accorded to Archbishops and Primates, without compelling the conclusion that their respective offices were really *Orders*. Moreover, it must be remembered that both the evidence of antecedent and contemporary literature is distinctly against the "Catholic" and in favor of the Protestant interpretation.

Finally, while we would not be so presumptuous as to deny the authenticity of the above Seven Epistles, which has been vouched for by no less an authority than Lightfoot, yet we must nevertheless remind our readers that (in the words of a well-known editor of the same) "*the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius have given rise to more controversy than any other documents connected with the primitive Church.*" Of the fifteen Epistles formerly believed to have been written by him, no less than *eight* are now *universally* rejected as spurious, while the remaining seven—the so-called "genuine," which we have above enumerated—*have been by no means unanimously accepted by scholars.* Daille (1666), Lardner (1743), Jortin (1751), Mosheim (1755), Griesbach (1768), Rosenmuller (1795), Neander (1826), and "*many others,*" either deny their authenticity altogether, or else claim that they contain many interpolations. Cureton (1845) asserts that all are spurious save Epistles to *Polycarp*, *Ephesians*, *Romans*, as these are the only ones contained in the *Syriac Version*, which he regards as the highest authority. It is also to be noticed that the very emphasis which is placed in these seven Epistles upon the importance of the Episcopate, while, as we have said, by no means necessarily implying the conclusion which our "Catholic" friends would draw from it, is in itself *suspicious*, as *no other* contemporaneous literature

Polycarp to the Philippians. (107 or 116.) The opening sentence, "Polycarp, and the Presbyters that are with him," can also be translated: "Polycarp, and those who with him are Presbyters." Much is said of "*Deacons*" and "*Presbyters*," but nothing whatever of *Bishops*. Submission to "*Presbyters* and *Deacons* as to God and Christ" is in one place enjoined, but nothing said of obedience to the Bishop.

Fragments of Papias. (130–140.) Apostles distinctly referred to as *Presbyters* or *Elders* but no further light thrown upon the constitution of the Ministry. "When a person came (in my way) who had been a follower of the *Elders* (πρεσβυτεροι), I would enquire about the discourses of the *Elders*—what was said by *Andrew*, or by *Peter*, or by *Philip*, or by *Thomas* or *James*, or by *John*, or *Matthew* or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what *Aristion* and the *Elder John*, the disciples of the Lord, say" (or—"what things Aristion and the Elder

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stresses the importance of the Bishopric *either as an Office or an Order*. Further, it is very significant that in the *three* which Cureton believes to be genuine (because found in the Syriac Version) *all this emphasis is wanting. They are the only ones of the seven that have comparatively little or nothing to say on the subject of the Ministry.* But while we are free to confess our own suspicions in the matter, we by no means desire to press such an objection here. For the sake of argument, we will freely grant the authenticity of the above, and merely assert that THEY CONTAIN NOT ONE SHRED OF EVIDENCE THAT EITHER ORDINATION OR GOVERNMENT WERE THE EXCLUSIVE PREROGATIVE OF BISHOPS—THE WHOLE POINT OF THIS DISCUSSION.

John (presumably contemporaries of the author) *now* say."

Irenæus. (130–202.) (Against Heresies, Bk. iii.). Like the Epistles of Ignatius, the passage in Irenæus (Bk. iii., ch. 3) so often quoted in defence of the theory of an *exclusive* Episcopate, contains absolutely nothing that is vital to the question. In this work the author has much to say of an historic succession of Bishops in Rome and other cities, and stresses it as a guarantee that the primitive faith of the Apostles has been transmitted in unbroken continuity from the beginning,—but all this throws no light *upon their mode of appointment*, whether (a) they were *elevated* to their Office *by their fellow Presbyters* and hence were of *one and the same Order with them;* or whether (b) they and they alone ordained their successors, as well as all the other clergy, as a separate and superior Order, to whom alone and exclusively this power appertained,—*the whole point to be determined.* Again we submit our former illustration: There has been an historic *succession* of Archbishops in England from the days of Augustine downward. Does the mere recital of this fact, with the names of the Archbishops in question, prove that Archbishops are a higher "ORDER" of the Ministry than Bishops? But this is only another instance of the confusion in the popular mind between the simple fact of an "*Historic Episcopate*" (which few would question, and for which this Church

undoubtedly stands[1]) and a certain *theory about* that "Historic Episcopate" (the "Catholic" theory of "Apostolic Succession") which maintains that it is the *exclusive* channel through which Divine Authority has descended—the *Historic Presbyterate* (which is no less a fact) possessing no such Divine Authority in itself. Not only does the passage in question fail to substantiate the "Catholic" theory, but a more critical examination of the writings of Irenæus establishes, beyond all reasonable doubt, that he believed the Episcopate and Presbyterate to be *one and the same Order*. This fact is brought out clearly in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (Smith-Cheetham) as follows: "It may be admitted that Bishops existed as Church officers *without also admitting that they occupied in relation to the Presbyterate the same position which they occupied afterwards.* Irenæus, for example, was cognizant of the distinction, but (a) in using '*successiones presbyterorum*,' 3, 2, 2, and '*successiones episcoporum*,' 3, 3, 2, *as convertible terms;* (b) in speaking of the office of '*presbyteri*' as '*episcopatus*,' 4, 26, 2; (c) in applying the τοὺς ἐπισκοπους of Isaiah, 60, 17, to πρεσβυτέρους, 4, 26, 5, *he clearly implies that there was no essential difference of function between them*" (*Id.*, Art. "Priest," vol. ii., p. 1703). Not only, therefore, do we deny that the passage so often quoted by High Churchmen

[1] See 4th Article of Lambeth Quadrilateral.

upholds their theory of the Episcopate, *but we maintain that Irenæus distinctly identifies Bishops and Presbyters as belonging to the same Order.* Palmer also admits that this is the testimony of Irenæus (see quotation, Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563).

Clemens Alexandrinus. (150–220?) Also maintained that they belonged to the *same Order*, according to Palmer (*Id.*).

Tertullian. (160–240.) This writer also, according to the testimony of Palmer (same as above), maintained an *identity of Order*. As an actual matter of fact, however, he went much further, taking the position that the original source of power was in *the body of the Church* (*i. e.*, the people)—hence that they could institute what Orders they pleased, and authorize any they would to ordain.

A.D. 200 TO 300

Canons of Hippolytus. (H. died c. 230?) These Canons throw still more valuable light upon the subject, inasmuch as they bear out our assertion that the present custom of ordination by the Bishop *alone*, was the result of a *voluntary delegation* of authority on the part of the Order of *Presbyter-Bishops* to their presiding head to act for them. Thus, while it is enacted in these Canons (Sec. 32) that the power of ordination is denied Presbyters, yet that this was only a

voluntary restriction for economic considerations purely, and had no reference to any surrender of inherent power, is clearly evidenced from the fact that when a Bishop himself is to be appointed, it is ordered that "one shall be chosen from among the Bishops *and Presbyters*" to administer the rite of the laying on of hands, so revealing the original identity of the two, and further explaining, indirectly, the statements of Jerome and others (to be noted shortly) respecting the usage of the Church in Alexandria, that Bishops were *elevated* to Office by the Presbyters. The Canon relating to this reads: "*Deinde eligatur unus ex episcopis et presbyteris, qui manum capiti ejus imponat et oret, dicens,*" etc. These Canons, therefore, clearly imply *identity of Order*, and *the inherent power of Presbyters to ordain—the issue before us.*

Firmilian. **(D. 266.)** On the authority of Palmer, this well-known Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, must be ranked among those who held *the identity of Order* (cited Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563).

The Church of Alexandria. *The most important testimony of all, comes from this Church, perhaps THE most important centre of Christian life and influence during the first few centuries, and which through all this period, or for TWO HUNDRED YEARS, regularly practiced PRESBYTERIAN ORDINATION, the Bishops of that See being ELEVATED to office through the laying on of the*

hands of the Presbytery. The evidence for this presented by Jerome, Hilary or Ambrose, Severus, Eutychius (himself a Bishop of Alexandria), and many later writers is so overwhelming, that the recent attempts of Canon Gore and a few other High Churchmen to discredit it, or place a different interpretation upon it (e. g., "that it is the witness of Jerome in a temper," that Eutychius lived long after and was not well informed—that perhaps the real meaning is that they "elected" their Bishop only, not that they really ordained him, etc.) seem hardly worthy of serious consideration. The words of these men are too obvious, and the interpretation placed upon them by centuries of criticism too unanimous, to justify such objections. If the words of the great Church Father be "the witness of Jerome in a temper," the criticism thereon appears to be no less the explanation of Canon Gore in an embarrassing position. That both Jerome and Eutychius intended to say that Presbyters of the Church in Alexandria were accustomed to *ordain* their own Bishop, and that this was a regular custom for two hundred years or more, is a fact so obvious to the unbiassed reader, and so generally admitted by critics to-day (and, in fact, *has been* so generally admitted from the very beginning) that little more need be said on the subject.

Novatus. **(C. 250.)** Though a *Presbyter* only he *ordained Felicissimus a Deacon*, and though the act was bitterly censured by his Bishop, Cyprian,

because done *without his knowledge and consent*, the actual *VALIDITY* of the ordination was never called in question by Cyprian (who left no stone unturned in his controversy with Novatus) but on the contrary WAS RECOGNIZED BY HIM. Even Blunt admits this fact: "He (*Cyprian*) *allowed Felicissimus to remain in office*" (*Dict. Sects, Heresies*, etc., Art. "Novatians," note, p. 383).[1] Again, we read: "His (Cyprian's) quarrel with Novatian was based to a great extent upon the fact that the latter, though only a Presbyter, had ignored Cyprian's claims as Bishop by ordaining Felicissimus as Deacon, *Ep.* 49 (52); *Felicissimum satellitem suum diaconum nec permittente me nec sciente sua factione et ambitione constituit*"[2]. (*Dict. Chris. Antiq.*, Art. "Priest," p. 1703).

A.D. 300 TO 400.

Council of Ancyra. (314.) The 13th Canon of this Council by prohibiting Presbyters to ordain "*without the permission of the Bishop in writing*," clearly betrays two things, (a) That Presbyters *had* performed such ordinations previously, and (b) That they were even now not to be considered

[1] See also testimony of Hatch to same effect: "*It is to be noted that Cyprian does not question the validity of the appointment, although he strongly objects to its having been made without his knowledge*" (*Organ. Early Chr. Churches*, p. 110).

[2] Of his own will and ambition, he ordained Felicissimus, his satellite, a Deacon, I neither consenting to it nor knowing of it.

illegal, *provided only they had the consent of the Bishop*. In short, the Canon was not directed against the *validity* of such ordinations, but against the *expediency* of performing them *apart from the knowledge and consent of the Bishop*, as tending to overthrow order, unity, and authority in the Church. It is to be noted that it was just such an act as this that Cyprian complained of in the case of the ordination of Felicissimus by Novatus. He did not deny the *validity* of this Presbyterian ordination (for he allowed Felicissimus to remain in office), but he complained that it was done without his knowledge and consent ("*nec permittente me nec sciente*"). The Canon in question reads as follows: "The Chorepiscopi are not to be allowed to ordain Presbyters or Deacons, *nor the Presbyters of a City, without the permission of the Bishop in writing, in another Parish*" (Canon XIII.).[1] Says Prof. Fisher, "Gradually in the Church, Ordination came to be the peculiar prerogative of the Bishop; but as late as the Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314), we find *by the 13th Canon, that Presbyters, with the Bishop's consent,*

[1] The reference here to the "*Chorepiscopi*" ordaining brings up another interesting point, for while the matter has never been definitely settled there is *good reason* to believe that these were *originally* nothing more than *Presbyters*, and that, as such, they ordained and their ordinations were regarded valid. As in the case of these City Presbyters this privilege was in time withdrawn for motives of expediency only. For a list of those who hold this view, see Bingham's Antiquities.

may still ordain" (*Begin. Christ.*, pp. 551 *et seq.*).

Epiphanius. (310–403.) Is said to have asserted the essential *equality of Bishop and Presbyter* (see Hatch, *Organ. Early Chr. Churches*, pp. 109, 110).

Hilary the Deacon. (Ambrose?) (4th Century.) Commenting on Ephesians iv., 2, this author writes as follows: "The Apostle calls Timothy, created by him a Presbyter, a Bishop (*for the first Presbyters were called Bishops*), that when he departed the one next to him might succeed him. Moreover, in Egypt the Presbyters (*consignant*) confirm (or *establish*), if a Bishop be not present." This witnesses the writer's belief in the original *identity* of Bishops and Presbyters, and evidently, in its allusion to the custom "in Egypt," refers to the Presbyterian ordinations attested by Jerome, Eutychius, and others which will be cited presently.

Ambrose. (340–397.) "*Episcopi et Presbyteri una ordinatio est; uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est*"[1] (*Op.*, vol. ii., p. 295; cited in *Dic. Chr. Antiq.*, Art. "Priest," p. 1703)—clear evidence that he regarded them as differing in *Office* only, not in *Order*.

[1] "There is but one *Ordination* of a Bishop and of a Presbyter, for each of them is a Priest, but the Bishop is (or ranks) first." His meaning is precisely parallel to what might be said of Bishops and Archbishops to-day—viz: "There is but one *Consecration* of an Archbishop and of a Bishop (for each of them is a Bishop), but the Archbishop is (or ranks) first."

Jerome. (340–420.) The words of this author when taken in connection with the circumstances under which they were written, appear so conclusive both in regard to his belief in the original identity of Bishops and Presbyters, and the purely practical motives that led to a later attempt to differentiate the two, that it is exceedingly difficult to understand how any one can seriously question the plain common-sense purport of his statement. It seems that the occasion for this utterance was the attempt on the part of a certain Deacon to extol the importance of his office at the expense of the Priesthood. He writes: "*Audio quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconas presbyteris, id est episcopis, anteferret. Nam, cum apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos, quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos, se tumidus efferat.*"[1] Having

[1] "I hear that a certain man into so great madness hath broken forth that he would place *Deacons* above Presbyters—that is to say, *above Bishops*. For since the Apostle clearly teaches that Presbyters and Bishops are *the same*, how can it be allowed that a mere Minister of tables and of widows should behave himself so haughtily as to presume to be superior to *these*." This reference to Acts vi., 1–7, is further significant, as it reveals that Jerome regarded Apostles, Bishops, and Presbyters—*all three* as belonging to *one and the same Order*. It was to relieve the *Apostles* from "serving *tables*" and providing for "the Widows" that Deacons were appointed. Yet Jerome uses the argument to prove the subordination of Deacons to *Presbyters and Bishops*. He must needs have regarded *all three*, therefore, as belonging to *the same Order*—a fact corroborated by the statement of the Apostles themselves that they were *Elders* or *Presbyters*, as already pointed out.

plainly set forth this primitive identity of Presbyters and Bishops, *he later goes on to say,*— "*But that AFTERWARDS one was chosen to be over the rest; this was done to prevent schism, lest each one drawing the Church after him should break it up. For at Alexandria also, from Mark the Evangelist to the Bishops Heracles and Dionysius, the Presbyters always called one elected among themselves, and placed in a higher rank, their Bishop; just as an army may constitute its general, or Deacons may elect one of themselves, whom they know to be diligent, and call him Archdeacon. For what does a Bishop do, with the exception of ordination, which a Presbyter may not do?*" (Epis. to Evangelus.) Moreover, that this was unquestionably his meaning, and that he never regarded the existing superiority of Bishops in his own day, and their privilege of exclusive ordination, as any thing more than a dignity conferred upon, and a power delegated to, them by the Presbyterate itself, is still further evident from another statement elsewhere. Thus, in his Commentary on Titus i., 5, he says: "As the Presbyters, therefore, know that they are subject by the custom of the Church to him who is placed over them, *so let Bishops know that they are greater than Presbyters MORE BY CUSTOM THAN BY ANY REAL APPOINTMENT OF THE LORD, and that they ought to govern the Church ALONG WITH THE PRESBYTERS.*" The best way to answer those whose imagina-

tions are sufficiently fertile to construe these words into a defence of the "Catholic" theory of the Episcopate, is to ask *if they would have been thus construed, if they had been written at the present day.*

Culdees of Scotland. (363–430.) The Culdees or Priests of the early Church of Scotland for a long period followed the custom of the Church at Alexandria ordaining, through election *and elevation to office* their own Bishop. This fact, attested by Boethius and others, there is little reason to question. "The same Boeth out of ancient annals, reports that these Priests were wont for their better government to elect some one of their number, by common suffrage, to be chief and principal among them, without whose knowledge and consent nothing was done in any matter of importance; and that the person so elected was called *Scotorum Episcopus*, a Scottish Bishop, or a Bishop of Scotland. Neither had our Bishops any other title whereby they were distinguished before the days of Malcolm the Third," etc. (Spottiswoode, *Hist. Ch. Scot.*, vol. i., pp. 6, 7.)

"Neither is it any ways sufficient to say that those Presbyters did derive their authority from Bishops; for, however, we see here a Church governed without such, or if they had any, they were only chosen from their *Culdei*, much after the custom of the Church of Alexandria, as Hector Boethius doth imply." (Stillingfleet,

Irenicum, p. 398. See also Carricks, *Wycliffe and the Lollards*, pp. 37, 38.)

Aerius. (c. 363.) "He maintained that, (*jure divino*) by Divine appointment, there was *no difference between Bishops and Presbyters.*" (Mosheim, *Institutes Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 326.)

Paphnutius. (c. 370.) "Ordination by other than a Bishop has been allowed in cases where a Bishop was not available: *e. g.* in the solitudes of Egypt a Presbyter, Paphnutius, ordained a monk, Daniel, as successively Deacon and Priest (Cassian. Collat. 4.1, ap. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. xlix., 585:" Hatch, *Organ. Early Chr. Churches*, p. 110.)

Chrysostom. (347–407.) Is said to have held the identity of Presbyter and Bishop in point of Order. (*Vide* Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563; Jewel, *Defence of Apology*, Bk. iii., 439, *et al.* N.B.—While the writer has good reason to believe from *circumstantial* evidence that Chrysostom did hold this opinion, he confesses that he has never been able to see how the passages cited by the above mentioned authorities can be regarded as *conclusive.* He says merely: "*Inter Episcopum et Presbyterum interest ferme nihil.*" (I. Tim., Hom. 11, *i. e.*, Between Bishop and Presbyter the difference is almost nothing.)

Augustine. (354–430.) Like Chrysostom, Augustine also maintained an identity of Order, re-

garding the Bishop as merely the *Chief* Priest: "*Quid est . . . Episcopus, nisi primus Presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos?*"[1] (Op. Quæst. ex Utroq. mixt., Quæst. ci., Tom. iii.; Jewel, *Def. of Apol.*, Bk. iii., p. 439; Browne, *Thirty-Nine Art.*, p. 563.)

A.D. 400 TO 500

Pelagius (c. 400); Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428); Theodoret (390–457). It is asserted by high authorities that all of these men maintained the primitive *identity* of Bishops and Presbyters. Says Bishop Lightfoot, "Chrysostom, Pelagius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, all acknowledge it. Thus in every one of the extant Commentaries on the Epistles containing the crucial passages, whether Greek or Latin, before the close of the fifth century, this identity is affirmed. (*Com. on Philip.*, p. 230.)

Sedulius. (c. 434.) Maintained the identity of Bishop and Presbyter in point of Order. (*Vide* Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563; Asserted also by Rainolds, see his testimony, *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 32.)

Boethius. (470–524.) See his testimony in regard to Presbyterian ordination among the Culdees, cited above.

A.D. 500 TO 600

Liberatus. (c. 534.) According to the Roman

[1] "What is the Bishop, but the *first* Presbyter, that is, the *Chief* (or highest) Priest?"

theologian, Morinus, the Breviarum of Liberatus testifies unequivocally, not only to the Presbyterian ordination of the Patriarch of Alexandria, but to the further fact alleged by many others, that both in Alexandria and elsewhere, *the election was itself regarded as the essential ordination, and was not followed by any Laying on of Hands.* He writes as follows: "It clearly follows from it (the Breviarum) that for at least two hundred years after Alexander, the Presbyters of Alexandria, not the Bishops, elected the Patriarch; and that neither the Presbyters nor the Bishops, nor any other person, laid their hands on the person elected." Whatever may be said of the practice in this particular place, there is at least much evidence from other sources to prove that in the early days of the Church the election was by no means *invariably* followed by the Laying on of Hands, although this last was the general rule.[1]

Primasius. (c. 550.) Maintained original identity of Bishop and Presbyter in point of Order (*vide* Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563; Testimony of Rainolds, quoted in *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 32.)

[1] Not only so, but even where this latter rite has been preserved, it has in many quarters, been so modified and tampered with, that it is difficult to understand how "Catholics" or others who stress its *literal* importance—a true *tactual* transmission of Authority from the Apostles downward—can be satisfied with the validity of the Episcopal succession in many of the Historic Churches, so-called.

A.D. 600 TO 700

Theophylact (611–629); Isidore Hispalensis (d. 636); Bede (673–735). All three of these writers are said to have held that Bishops and Presbyters were of the same Order. (*Vide* Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563; Testimony of Rainolds, quoted in *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 32.)

A.D. 700 TO 800

Alcuin. (735–804.) Likewise held the view that they were the same Order. (*Vide* Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563.)

Willehad. (8th Cen.) **Luidger.** (d. 807.) According to Hatch, and other authorities, both these celebrated missionaries endorsed and practiced Presbyterian ordination. "The Presbyters who were sent as missionaries to the Teutonic races in the eighth century *both ordained Presbyters, and exercised other Episcopal functions* (Anskar. *Vit. St. Willehad*, c. 5, ap. Pertz, M. H. G. Scriptt., vol. ii., p. 381, '*servus Dei Willehadus per Wigmodiam* (*Bremen*) *ecclesias coepit construere ac Presbyteros super eas ordinare.*': so Altfrid. Vit. S. Liudger, c. 20, ap. Pertz, *ibid.*, p. 411)"—*i. e.* "Willehad, the servant of God, began to establish Churches throughout Wigmodia (Bremen) and *to ordain Presbyters over them.*"

A.D. 800 TO 900

Synod of Aix. (819.) *Officially pronounced Bishops*

and Presbyters to be the same in point of Order. (Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563.)

Amalarius. (**9th Cen.**) According to Harrison, this writer not only held that they were identical in point of Order, but leaves no room for doubt as to his interpretation of the words of Jerome relating to the elevation of the Bishop of Alexandria at the hands of his fellow Presbyters, comparing it to the *similar* elevation of an Archdeacon by his brethren. "The consecration of an Archdeacon is well known to us. An Archdeacon has the *same consecration* as the others have, but by the *election* of his brethren he is placed first." (*Whose Are the Fathers?* quoted in *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 208.)

A.D. 900 TO 1000

Eutychius. (**10th Cen.**) This writer, *himself a Patriarch of Alexandria*, and, therefore, of all others, the least likely to depreciate the importance of his office or the honor due his see, furnishes the most explicit testimony of all with regard to the ancient custom of Presbyterian ordination, and his testimony alone should forever settle the meaning of Jerome's words (above quoted) if indeed there were any reasonable grounds for questioning his meaning. After voicing the usual tradition that St. Mark, the Evangelist (who, by the way, was himself a *PRESBYTER* only), had founded the Church

at Alexandria, he goes on to relate its subsequent history as follows: "He (St. Mark) appointed twelve Presbyters with Hananias (his Successor), who were to remain with the Patriarch, so that when the Patriarchate was vacant they might elect one of the twelve Presbyters, *upon whose head the other eleven might place their hands and bless him and create him Patriarch*, and then choose some excellent man and *appoint him Presbyter with themselves in the place of him who was thus made Patriarch*, that thus there might always be twelve. Nor did this custom respecting the Presbyters, namely, that *they* should create their Patriarch from the twelve Presbyters, cease at Alexandria until the times of Alexander, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was of the number of the three hundred and eighteen. But *he* forbade the Presbyters to create the Patriarch *for the future*, and decreed that when the Patriarch was dead, the Bishops should meet together and ordain the Patriarch. Thus, that ancient custom, *by which the Patriarch used to be created by Presbyters*, disappeared, and in its place *succeeded* the ordinance for the creation of the Patriarch by the Bishops." (Annals, cited in *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 20.) It would be hard to find any testimony that could be more unequivocal than this.

Severus. (**10th Cen.**) As quoted by Renaudot, declares that "the Priests and people were collected together at Alexandria, and laid their

hands on Peter, his son in the faith, and disciple, a Priest, and placed him in the patriarchal throne of Alexandria, according to the command of Theonas in the tenth year of the Emperor Diocletian."

Oecumenius. (**10th Cen.**) According to the testimony of Rainolds, he likewise maintained that Bishops and Priests were of the same Order. (*Prim. Eiren.*, p. 32.)

Canons of Aelfric. (**996–1006.**) "Seven degrees are established in the Church—the sixth *Diaconus*, the seventh (*i. e.*, the *highest*) *Presbyter*." (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, vol. ii., p. 347; quoted by Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia.*)

Note. This evidence is unequivocal. The writer declares that there are only Seven Orders in the Church, the five Minor Orders, so called, and the *two* Major Orders, viz.: the Diaconate (the sixth), and the Priesthood, *the Seventh, and highest. There is no eighth Order of Episcopate.* This is again confirmed by the *following:*

Pastoral of Aelfric. (**996–1006.**) "Beloved, understand that both are of *one Order*, the Bishop and the Mass-Priest, that is of *the Seventh* Church Order, as holy books tell us." (*Id.*, p. 379.)

A.D. 1000 TO 1100

Anselm. (**1033–1109.**) Held the same opinion, according to the testimony of Rainolds, (quoted in *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 32).

A.D. 1100 TO 1200

Hugo St. Victor. (**1096–1140.**) Held the same view. (Vide Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563.)

Gratian. (1151.) This famous Canonist is authority for the statement that the Chorepiscopi, who for many centuries exercised the function of ordination in the Church, *were not Bishops at all, but Presbyters*, and the validity of their acts was never called in question. According to Bingham, this was also the received opinion of many others, to wit: "Among the Schoolmen and Canonists, it is *a received* opinion, that they were only *Presbyters;* as may be seen in Turrian, Estius, Antonius Augustinus, and Gratian, who are followed not only by Salmasius, but by Spalatensis, Dr. Field, and Dr. Forbes, the last of which brings several arguments to prove that they were *Presbyters, and never had any Episcopal ordination.*" (Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 56.)

Peter Lombard. (d. 1164.) Said to have maintained the identity of Order (Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563); as also the

Waldenses. (fl. 1170.) According to testimony of Rainolds, cited above.

A. D. 1200 to 1300

Albertus Magnus. (1205–1280.) This writer is said to have maintained that Bishop and Presbyter were of the same Order. (Browne, *Id.*)

Alexander Alensis. (1230 ?) Held that Bishop and Presbyter were the same Order. (Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563.)

George Elmacinus. (13th Cen.) An Egyptian writer, confirms the testimony of Eutychius respecting Presbyterian ordination in Alexandria. (See *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 20.)

Pope Celestine V. (1215–1296.) "He empowered one Francis of Apt, a Franciscan Friar, to confer Priest's Orders on Lodovico, son of Charles, King of Sicily, a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of Bingham, who says that such a thing was never done." (*Encyc. Brit.*)

Guilielmus Parisiensis. (d. 1249.) According to Maskell, this writer declares that the Episcopate depends on the Presbyterate, not the Presbyterate on the Episcopate: "The Episcopate presupposes the Priesthood, *and depends upon it.*" (*Mon. Rit.*, vol. iii., p. lxxxiii.) Thus, like the Revisers of 1662 he emphasizes the fact that the Episcopate *unlike* the "Orders" of *Presbyter* and *Deacon* is NOT *necessary* in the Church of Christ.

Bonaventura. (1221–1274.) His testimony, as well as that of his distinguished contemporary (which immediately follows), is clear and unequivocal: "Episcopatus prout distinguitur contra Sacerdotum, non est proprie nomen Ordinis, nec novus character imprimitur, nec nova potestas datur, sed potestas data ampliatur."[1] (*Op.*, Tom. 5., p. 369.)

[1] "The Episcopate as contrasted with the Priesthood, *is not properly the name of an Order, nor is there any new Character impressed, nor any new power given*, but the power *already* bestowed is *increased.*"

Thomas Aquinas. (1225–1274.) He says distinctly, "Episcopatus non est Ordo." (In. 4. Sec. Dist. 24, q. 2. Art. 2.) *"The Episcopate is not an Order."*

A.D. 1300 TO 1400

Durandus. (d. 1332.) Held that they were identical in Order. (Browne, *Id.*)

Peter Aureolus. (d. after 1345.) Bishop Cosin declares that he held the same opinion. (See his Letter to Cordel, cited by Goode, *On Orders*, p. 66.)

Marsiglio of Padua. Among the several propositions which he laid down, and for which he was condemned by the Pope (John XXII.) was the following: "All Priests, whether Pope or Archbishop or simple Priest, are, in accordance with the appointment of Christ, *of equal authority and jurisdiction.*"

Note. It was only the extension of the principle of their equality in point of Order, *to include the Pope*, that called forth his condemnation. (See Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book*, p. 324.)

Wyclif. (1324–1384.) It is well known that this great Reformer maintained the equality of Bishop and Presbyter in point of Order. "He believed in the universal priesthood of all believers, the fallibility of the Pope, *the original equality of Bishop and Presbyter*, and the necessity of all Christian Priests of a simple, humble life." (Carrick, *Wycliffe and the Lollards*, p.

190.) Wyclif also believed in the principles of the Culdees, who maintained the validity of Presbyterian ordination. (See above.) "Columban or Culdee Christianity was what the Roman Church displaced, and it was what Wycliffe wished revived again." (*Id.*, p. 37.)

The Lollards. It is needless to say that they maintained the view of their founder.

Pupilla Oculi. (1385.) In this work a recognized authority in its day, the same view is again set forth. "Episcopatus autem non est Ordo proprie sed dignitas, sive excellentia in ordine, tum quia non imprimit characterem, tum etiam quia omnis Ordo ordinatur ad Sacramentum Eucharistiæ."[1] (Pars VII., Cap. I. C.)

Manipulus Curatorum. "De Episcopatu vero utrum sit spiritualis Ordo dubito." (Lib. V., Cap. II.) "As to the Episcopate, I question whether it be truly a *Spiritual Order*."

Huss. (1369–1415.) It is generally admitted that he held the same view. (*Vide* testimony of Rainolds, *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 32.)

A.D. 1400 TO 1500

Pope Eugenius. (1383–1447.) "In the definition

[1] "Moreover, the Episcopate is not, properly speaking, *an Order*, but a *dignity*, or *excellency in* Order; because further, it does not impress any character; and yet again, because all Order is designed for the Sacrament of the Eucharist."—N. B. The prevalent mediæval conception being that the *prime* or *essential* reason for *ordering* or *setting apart a class* of ministers above the Diaconate, was to bestow upon them the unique power of *Consecrating the Elements*—to perform the *Miracle* of transubstantiation.

that Eugenius has given of the Sacraments which is an authentical piece in the Roman Church, where he reckons *Priests*, *Deacons*, and *Subdeacons*, as belonging to the Sacrament of *Orders*, he does not name *Bishops*, though their being of Divine institution is not questioned in that Church." (Burnet, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 340.) The above is cited, not in defense of the Roman view that the Subdiaconate constitutes an Order, but merely to show (as is verified by other official declarations of that Church, *e. g.*, that of the Council of Trent) that the Episcopate was not at that time regarded as *a separate Order even by them.*

Tostatus, Bishop of Avila. (15th Cen.) Held that the power of the Keys was given originally to the Church (as a Body) not to the Ministry, and that the former merely delegates what Orders she will to *exercise* said power. "For the power of a prelate does not take its origin from itself, but *from the Church*, by means of the *election* that it makes of him. *The Church that chose him* gives him that jurisdiction, but as for the Church, it receives it from nobody after its having once received it from Jesus Christ. *The Church*, therefore, has the Keys originally and virtually, and whensoever she gives them to a prelate, she does not give them to him after the manner she has them, to wit, *originally* and *virtually*, but she gives them to him only as to *use*." (In

"Numer.," cap. xv., quest. 48, 49. Quoted *Prim. Eiren.*, p. 210.)

Antonius de Rosellis. (d. 1467.) Cited by Bishop Cosin as one of those who held that Presbyters had the inherent power to ordain. (See Goode, *On Orders*, p. 66.)

15th Century Pontifical. This Pontifical in the Library of St. Genevieve at Paris, distinctly states: "*Episcopatus non est Ordo sed sacerdotii culmen et apex atque tronus dignitatis.*" (See *Dic. Chr. Antiq.*, Art. "Orders," p. 1472.) "The Episcopate *is not an Order*, but the culmination and Apex of the Priesthood—even its throne of dignity."

Cajetan. (1469–1534.) Held that Bishop and Presbyter were identical in point of Order. (Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 563.)

Pope Innocent VIII. (–1489.) "There is a privilege extant, of Pope Innocent VIII. in 1489, giving to some Cistercian Abbots power to ordain to the Diaconate." (Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, vol. iii., p. lxxxvii, note.)

A.D. 1500 TO 1600

Malabar Christians. It is on record that the Christians of Malabar, when discovered by the Portuguese, knew only *two* Orders in their Ministry, viz.: (1) *Bishops or Presbyters;* (2) *Deacons.* They were *later* persecuted by the Roman missionaries, who accused them of the following

practices and opinions: "that they (the clergy) had married wives, that they owned but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that they neither invoked Saints, nor worshipped images nor believed in Purgatory; *and that they had no other Orders or names of dignity in the Church than Priest and Deacon.*" (*Perranzabuloe*, by C. T. C. Trelawny, p. 254.) The above statement is somewhat exaggerated. The author does not really mean that they had no names of dignity in the Church, for (as will be seen by those who consult the work) he himself affirms that they had Bishops, and the fact is well known. What he means, however, is that they did not account their Bishops as occupying a separate Order from the Priests.

Erasmus. (1529.) Writes as follows: "I know not how Popes came by their authority. I suppose it was as Bishops came by theirs. Each Presbytery chose one of its members as President to prevent divisions. Bishops similarly found it expedient to have a Chief Bishop to check rivalries and defend the Church against the secular powers." (Letter, Louvain, Jan. 28, 1529. *Cf.* Brown, *Level Plan*, pp. 58, 59.)

But we have now reached the period of the Reformation when the evidence still further substantiating our contention becomes too abundant to be dealt with within the limits of such a work as this. It is, in fact, due to the very rupture of the rest of the Christian world with Rome that questions relating

to the constitution of the Ministry in Apostolic days—the number of *necessary* or *essential* Orders in the Church, the validity of non-episcopal forms of government, and Presbyterian Ordination now, for the first time, come prominently to the front. In short, it is for the purpose of condemning the reform movement both on the Continent and in England that Rome begins to raise these questions of valid Ministries and Churches, of the necessity of an Apostolic Succession through the Episcopate *alone*, as a *third* Order[1] (in the present technical sense) and the *invalidity* even of this third Order when assuming to be independent of the Pope. Against these specious objections of Romanism we find not only Calvin, Luther, and the continental Reformers generally, but all the Reformers in England making unanimous and indignant protest. Even before the reform movement had attained completion in England, and while yet many Roman corruptions in doctrine and practice had not been eliminated, we find the Anglican divines in the work entitled the *Institution of a Christian Man* (1537) and *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man* (1543) singularly at one with the Reformers on the Continent in condemning these pretensions of the Roman Church.

[1] Note well—It was because that, on the Continent particularly, so few Bishops could be induced to join the reform movement, that (a) most of the Reformed Churches were compelled to organize without them, and (b) Rome saw the advantage of making this lack of Bishops an issue. The idea of the absolute *necessity* of the Episcopate to the *being* of the Church was born of this controversy; and though a *novel* argument, it was *effective*.

Not only did they here (*i. e.*, in the above mentioned works) *officially* assert, in no uncertain language, that the integrity and unity of the Catholic Church "*is not conserved by the Bishop of Rome's authority or doctrine*"; not only do they therein define the essential marks of the Catholic Church, significantly *omitting* this so-called essential, the *Episcopal Succession*, but they further as clearly and as emphatically point out that because the *essential* bond does *not* consist in matters of outward forms and polity, but only in *Faith and Doctrine;* that all the *Reformed Bodies* (*which they mention by name*) are valid parts of this said *Catholic Church*; that, in short, "*the Church of Rome, being but a several* Church challenging the name of catholic above all other, doeth great wrong to ALL OTHER CHURCHES, and doeth only by force and maintenance support an unjust usurpation: *for that Church hath no more right to that name than the Church of FRANCE, SPAIN, ENGLAND, or PORTUGAL, which be justly called Catholic Churches in THAT THEY DO PROFESS, CONSENT, AND AGREE IN ONE UNITY OF TRUE FAITH WITH OTHER CATHOLIC CHURCHES.*" (A Necessary Doctrine, etc., Ninth Article.) Moreover, not only do they thus recognize *officially* the non-episcopal bodies on the Continent as true branches of the Catholic Church, but they further, in these same works, effectually settle the question as to what the attitude of the Church in England THEN was (*i.e.*, even at this early date—*before* the Reform movement was completed) on the

subject of the number of "Orders" originally instituted by the Apostles, by again affirming (and that, not once, but *repeatedly*) that they were only "TWO," viz.: PRIESTS OR BISHOPS, and DEACONS OR MINISTERS. [E. g., "In the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in Orders but only of DEACONS OR MINISTERS, and of PRIESTS OR BISHOPS." (*The Institution*, etc., Art. "Orders.")] This clear identification of Bishop and Priest as belonging to ONE AND THE SAME ORDER, and (as a consequence of this, to say nothing of other reasons) the recognition of all Presbyterially governed Churches as true parts of the Catholic Church, was an UNDISPUTED POINT EVEN AT THE VERY OUTSET OF THE REFORMATION, that is to say, even when the Anglican Reformers had not yet got their bearings on many other matters, such for example, as the Mass, the Seven Sacraments, etc. Is it then a matter of any surprise that if BEFORE the Church had freed itself from all the taints of Romanism, it should be absolutely positive about this question, that later on, when the Reformation was *completed*, it should continue (as we have seen that it did) to maintain its attitude unchanged on this point to the very end? Moreover, what we see to have been thus undisputed from the very outset, in England (where Episcopacy was retained) we, of course, find emphasized everywhere else. Thus, not only did Luther, Calvin, and all the Continental Reformers, along with Hooper, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Jewel, etc., individually, maintain the *identity* of the Orders of Bishop and

Priest, and so the *validity* of Presbyterial Ordination and government, but they proceeded, as we should expect, to incorporate these principles in the Constitutions and Formularies of their respective Churches. The *identity* of Bishop and Priest was *officially* enunciated and defended in the Danish Confession (1537), the Smalcald Articles (1537, signed by Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Myconius, Bucer, Fagius, *et al.*), Confession of Saxony (1551), of Wittenburg (1552), of Belgium (1556), of Bohemia (1573); in the second Helvetic Confession (1566) signed by the Churches of Geneva, Hungary, Savoy, Polonia, Scotland, etc. Why continue to cite evidence? Blunt himself is the honest, though unwilling witness that this idea of a DIFFERENCE of Order between Bishop and Presbyter was NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME SERIOUSLY ALLEGED. He himself has told us that "*it was not until the CLOSE of the SIXTEENTH CENTURY that the DISTINCTION* between the ORDERS OF BISHOP AND PRIEST WAS ASSERTED," which simply means that BEFORE the CLOSE of the SIXTEENTH CENTURY NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN BISHOP AND PRIEST WAS RECOGNIZED. Hence the Succession through the Episcopate *alone*, was not deemed *necessary*. Keble also, another high authority with "catholics," testifies, as we have seen, to the same effect, saying that it was "enough with them (the Anglican Reformers) to show that the government by Archbishops and Bishops is ancient and allowable; they NEVER VENTURE TO URGE ITS EXCLUSIVE CLAIM, OR TO CONNECT THE SUCCESSION

WITH THE VALIDITY OF THE HOLY SACRAMENTS" (precisely the point at issue) and adding moreover that this fact is "NOTORIOUS"; and finally, as corroborating yet further our own statement as well as that of Blunt, above cited, that this was the *received opinion before* the Reformation, we have the statement of another eminent "Catholic" authority, the Rev. W. Maskell, that "THE BALANCE OF AUTHORITY, EVEN FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, CERTAINLY INCLINES TO CONSIDER THE EPISCOPATE, AS AN ORDER, TO BE IDENTICAL WITH THE PRIESTHOOD, BUT THE COMPLETION OF IT." (*Mon Rit.*, vol. iii., p. lxxxii *et seq.*) We are not saying anything more, therefore, than what some of the highest "*Catholic*" authorities have themselves asserted. There is nothing new or strange in any of it. It is only that under existing conditions, when so many of us are preaching a contrary doctrine, and seeking to revolutionize this ancient CATHOLIC view, to be reminded of these facts is embarrassing, and it is, to say the least, not very polite or considerate in one of our own clergy to be telling the world such things. It is true, of course, but you should not speak of it. But to proceed. Not only was this the CATHOLIC or generally received opinion, "*from the earliest ages*" even till "*the close of the Sixteenth Century*," but, as we have already seen from evidence that is incontestable, the agitation which now, *for the first time*, begins to make itself felt in certain quarters, never gains sufficient momentum to bring about any doctrinal change in the OFFICIAL teaching of the Church.

Moreover, the cause or motive for this agitation is obvious to any one studying the history of the period. When facing only the persecution of Rome, and contending only with Papist controversialists, there was never a thought of anything else. *When, however, an enemy within her own fold appeared, and Anglican Divines were forced to defend themselves from the attack of Puritanism*, a movement contending that Episcopacy in any form was "*anti-Christ*," and Presbyterianism and Presbyterianism *alone*, and *exclusively* could claim Divine Authority; when a serious and deliberate attempt was inaugurated to overthrow the existing Church of England, then human nature began to assert itself. By the "*close* of the Sixteenth Century" it became apparent that something would have to be done, if Episcopacy was to be retained in England. The moderate, rational view of the Episcopate entertained by the Anglican Divines of this period, and which was so ably and tactfully defended by "the judicious Hooker," had failed to satisfy the Puritans, and in the heat of controversy, a *few* clergy of the Church of England began to take still higher ground in defending the established Order. What appears to have been the very first public expression of this *novel* theory was the sermon preached by Bancroft (afterwards Archbishop) at St. Paul's Cross, wherein he advocated for the Episcopate, which hitherto, as we have seen, had been regarded as a mere office or function of the Presbyterate, and not a "necessary" or essential "Order" in itself, a *separate* and *distinct* authority,

divinely bestowed *at the very beginning*. Mark—this was the *whole* extent to which he ventured. Hitherto, the Episcopate, though not "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ" (like the Presbyterate and Diaconate, see Rubrics in the Ordinal), was unquestionably "*allowable*" (see Keble, cited above), *justifiable*, and *of Divine Authority*, the Puritans to the contrary notwithstanding. Now, it was more than this. It was *just as* "*necessary* . . . in the Church of Christ" as the Presbyterate and Diaconate. Thus, while he made it a *third* Order, *as necessary* as either of the others, he did not presume to go so far as to say, on the other hand, that government and ordination by Presbyters, was not ALLOWABLE, or VALID. This is proved by the action which, as Archbishop, he officially took a few years later, at the Consecration of the Scottish Bishops. *But even this was going beyond the official attitude of the Church, and the almost universal opinion of his fellow divines.* Says Neale: "*This was new and strange doctrine to the Churchmen of these times.* It had been always said that the superiority of the Order of Bishops above Presbyters, had been a politic *human* appointment, for the more orderly government of the Church begun about the third or fourth Century, but Bancroft was one of the first, who by the Archbishop's directors, advanced it into a *Divine Right*. . . . Whitgift said, the Doctor's Sermon had done much good, THOUGH HE HIMSELF RATHER WISHED THAN BELIEVED IT TO BE TRUE: IT WAS NEW DOCTRINE AT THIS TIME." (Neale's *Hist. Puritans*, vol. i., pp.

262, 263.) While in our opinion, the above statement is somewhat misleading, being a statement of the matter from the Puritan point of view, yet after due allowance is made for this, it still portrays the *gist* of the Anglican position at that time. This idea of the Episcopate as a separate "Order" (in modern sense) from the Presbyterate was, indeed, *novel* and *strange* to the Churchmen of that day, and despite the fact that many, because of the aggressiveness of the Puritans, doubtless "WISHED," with the Archbishop, that it *were* true, few—very few—could follow Dr. Bancroft in asserting that it *was* true. They knew only too well, that the generally received opinion of the entire Church from the very earliest ages downward was totally opposed to this. The actual triumph of Presbyterianism and temporary overthrow of Episcopacy within the next century, however, unquestionably tempted many to make the most of these novel pretensions. When it was perceived that the crisis was inevitable, Laud determined to meet arrogance with arrogance. He put forth the *jure divino* theory of the Episcopate in no uncertain language; in the fervor of his zeal to maintain the established order, he even went so far as to make the astounding assertion "*nullus episcopus, nulla ecclesia.*" After all, this was a mere PRIVATE OPINION (not an OFFICIAL declaration of his Church) and one, moreover, *for which he was censured by high authority within the Church itself*, and which he subsequently TOOK THE PAINS TO EXPLAIN WAS NOT INTENDED BY HIM TO SIGNIFY THAT THERE WERE NO

VALID CHURCHES AMONG THE REMAINING PROTESTANT BODIES. (The very thing "Catholics" *are* assuming to-day.) Like Bancroft before him, who despite his extreme views, maintained, as we have seen, that Presbyterian Ordination was VALID (when about to Consecrate the Scottish Bishops), so Laud also answered his critics by saying that he only meant that "none but a Bishop can ordain, EXCEPT IN CASES OF INEVITABLE NECESSITY." He further illustrates his position as regards the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* by distinctly adding: "NOR HAVE I ABSOLUTELY UNCHURCHED THEM." But in spite of this evident tendency, now manifest throughout the troublous period of the Seventeenth Century, to offset the prentensions of the Puritans by resorting to claims equally as presumptuous on the side of Episcopacy, *none of these utterances were ever set forth OFFICIALLY — BY AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.* The idea had been expressed, and found support in the writings of certain *individuals*, but IT WAS NEVER RECOGNIZED OFFICIALLY BY THE CHURCH; and even so late as 1659, when Episcopacy had suffered most, such theories were current only with *a few.* Archbishop Bramhall himself, writing *at this time*, distinctly says: "I cannot assent to his minor proposition, that either all OR ANY CONSIDERABLE PART of the Episcopal divines in England DO UNCHURCH either all or the most part of the Protestant Churches. . . . They do NOT unchurch the Swedish, Danish, Bohemian Churches," etc. . . . "Let him set his heart at rest. I will remove this

scruple out of his mind, that he may sleep securely upon both ears. EPISCOPAL DIVINES DO NOT DENY THOSE CHURCHES TO BE TRUE CHURCHES WHEREIN SALVATION MAY BE HAD." (Passage cited above.) It is useless to go over ground which has already been thoroughly covered. We wish here merely to emphasize the evidence which we have already adduced, which PROVES, beyond all question, that the agitation now begun, continued to be regarded as *novel* by the majority of English Churchmen, and that IT NEVER ATTAINED OFFICIAL RECOGNITION. Not only did the Church of England OFFICALLY recognize the *validity* of Presbyterian ordination, and the *identity* of Bishop and Priest, when conferring the Episcopate upon the Church of Scotland in 1610—but, again in 1661, when Episcopacy was restored, and the Prayer Book revised, the Church CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN ITS FORMER DOCTRINAL POSITION ON THIS, AND ALL OTHER POINTS, INVIOLATE. To frustrate any future attempt to overthrow Episcopacy again in England, the Revisers now deemed it necessary to insist that from henceforth all presbyterially ordained ministers desiring to enter the service of the Church of England should be required to give evidence of their good faith and loyalty to the established order by submitting to reordination at the hands of the Episcopate, and that none, who refused to submit to this condition, should ever "be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND"; but that they had no intention whatever of ALTERING THE FORMER DOCTRINAL

POSITION of the Church on the general subject of the VALIDITY of other Ministries and Churches, by such restriction, is abundantly evident from the fact that in doing this, they FORMALLY CERTIFY in the Preface to the Revised Book, that they had taken pains *not to alter or change anything that was material, either in the Doctrine or the Practice of the Church.*

They further reveal the OFFICIAL view of the Church on the subject of the number of "ORDERS" which were to be regarded as ESSENTIAL, by now, FOR THE FIRST TIME, introducing Rubrics before the Ordination Services of *Deacons* and *Priests*, declaring THESE to be "NECESSARY . . . IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST," and as significantly OMITTING to place such a Rubric before the Service of the Consecration of a Bishop; thus reasserting the view, not only of their predecessors (the Sixteenth Century divines in England), but of the whole CHURCH CATHOLIC that the *essential* Orders were but TWO (Presbyterate and Diaconate) and that the Episcopate was not, strictly speaking an ORDER, but an OFFICE of the Presbyterate.[1] Furthermore, to settle all misapprehension as regards the requirement of reordination, they give unmistakable evidence that this restriction was a mere expedient to insure the stability of the Episcopal Government "in the Church of England" against any future Presbyterian attacks, and NOT intended

[1] For, as we have seen, both from the list of authorities cited in this chapter, as well as from the direct assertions of such eminent "Catholic" writers as Blunt and Maskell, this was the *Catholic* view till "the *close* of the Sixteenth Century."

as any reflection upon the actual VALIDITY of other forms of Ordination, by enacting as a Proviso to Act XIV. Carol. II., that the King *might still continue, at his discretion, to admit such Presbyterian Clergy when he deemed it advisable.* We know that the King *did* act upon this proviso *a short time afterwards;* we know that the same *has never been revoked, and is still therefore the Law;* we know, yet further, that this Revision of 1662 is the last of any importance that has been made; we know, in other words, that all the Doctrinal principles re-affirmed at that time *are still the established teaching* of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and this PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. Hence we know to-day that it is still the OFFICIAL DOCTRINE, both of the Church of England and our own, (of which any one can satisfy himself in a moment, who will glance at the Rubrics in the Ordinal) that only the "ORDERS" of PRIEST and DEACON are regarded as "*NECESSARY* . . . IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST"—that Bishops are not "ORDERED," but only "CONSECRATED." To quote the Ninth Edition of the *Britannica* once more, "*The Church of England expressly recognizes the Diaconate and the Priesthood, BUT NO OTHERS, as distinct ORDERS.*" We know, finally, that the Church's teaching thus OFFICIALLY determined regarding the VALIDITY of Presbyterian Ordination, is still OFFICIAL at this very hour, and that her repeated recognition of the various Protestant Organizations as true CHURCHES, a recognition extending even to *particular* churches, indicated *by name*, precludes all possibility of "Cath-

olic" views and theories of these matters being regarded as OFFICIAL in this Church. Not only did the "exclusive" view of the Episcopate advanced by Bancroft and Laud fail of obtaining official recognition, but that it was not approved by Cosin, and the majority of the Revisers and other prominent churchmen of that period, and of the ensuing century, is clearly indicated from numbers of passages in their private works and letters—many of which we have already cited. The truth is these "novel" opinions, after a certain period of agitation, were obscured and partially forgotten for the next hundred years or more, and *it was not until the Oxford Movement of 1833 that they were resurrected and brought once more into prominence.* Under the able leadership of Newman, Keble, Pusey, Manning, and others, these principles were not only reasserted, but they were developed far beyond the intent or even the imagination of their Seventeenth Century originators, and even the genius of Newman, the real philosopher of the movement, was unable to gain for them OFFICIAL RECOGNITION. On the contrary, instead of being accepted as a legitimate interpretation of the position of the Church of England, the *Tracts were condemned by AUTHORITY.* It was this very OFFICIAL REJECTION of the movement, that caused Newman, Manning, and a host of others, to *leave* the Church of England and enter the Church of Rome, *where alone such doctrine could be vindicated.* Yet, remember it is these very principles thus *officially condemned* by the Church at that time, that are held

up *now* before us by "Catholics" as the OFFICIAL DOCTRINES of this Church. Ay, doctrines for which men, just one hundred years ago, felt constrained to *leave* the Church, are now proclaimed OFFICIAL and AUTHORITATIVE within it. A Bishop of the Church of England—a follower of the officially condemned opinions of Newman and Manning, has the temerity to challenge the Church to her face, publicly to admit that the authorized statements of her own Articles and other Formularies are OFFICIAL, and even presumes to demand that a fellow Bishop, who has had the audacity to enforce one of these Articles (Art. XXII.) particularly, who has stood loyally by the *authorized* teaching of the Anglican Reformers and their successors as to "*the meaning and value of Episcopacy*" (*Eccles., Anglic.*, p. 20), and has, generally, in the name of "*the true Protestant Religion established in the Church of England*" (*Laud himself*) or, if you prefer, in the name of "the PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL *Church of ENGLAND and Ireland*" (Act of Parliament, 1828) sought earnestly "*to protestantize the world*" (*Eccles. Anglic.*, p. 29)—shall be brought to trial for "*HERESY*"!!

Finally, it is not only preposterous for "Catholics" to assume that they represent the true official attitude of this Church on all these disputed points. It is not only impossible for them to maintain that their view of the Episcopate, with its consequent corollaries regarding the validity of other forms of ordination, and the nature and extent of the Church Catholic, etc.,—was the generally received or CATH-

OLIC doctrine prior to "the close of the Sixteenth Century" (the best "Catholic" authorities themselves being witnesses to the contrary). It is equally as absurd for them to imagine that their view of the Episcopate can be justified as either primitive, apostolic, or historically Catholic, by appealing to the results of modern scholarship. On the contrary it *is notorious that the well-nigh unanimous verdict of modern scholars is antagonistic to the "catholic" theory.* What we mean to assert is that this view of the Anglican Reformers, and their colleagues on the continent, so far from being *obsolete* to-day, so far from being the opinion merely of a few old-fashioned, unprogressive, out-of-date, Low Churchmen, and "the mass of ignorant, unenlightened Protestants," is, on the contrary, one of the best established facts with modern critics and theologians. Not only is it the unanimous opinion of the best Protestant authorities, but by far the greater part of our own Anglican scholars, and not a few even of the foremost Roman Catholic historians and theologians, now freely admit that the Episcopate as we have it to-day, *is not the Episcopate of the primitive Church,* but the result of a long process of development. The exclusive claims and pretensions now commonly made for it by "Catholics" and others, were absolutely unknown in apostolic times, and even for a long period thereafter. Among the large number of modern authorities who deny the "Catholic" theory respecting the origin of the Episcopate, its acceptance as a separate Order, etc., are the following:—

Gieseler, Neander, Schaff, Herzog, Duchesne, Lightfoot, Hort, Sanday, Briggs, Lindsay, Fairbairn, Hatch, A. V. G. Allen, Auguste Sabatier, McGiffert, Harnack, Ramsay, Arnold, Whateley, Dean Stanley, Westcott, Ellendorf, Moule, Perowne, Goode, Jacob, Geo. P. Fisher, Dean Hodges, etc.[1] In fact we might fill a volume with quotations from these modern authorities alone. We can not do more, however, than cite a few passages at random. Lightfoot, for example—by many regarded as the foremost of all Anglican scholars—after stating the well-known fact that in the apostolic age Bishop and Presbyter were identical, goes on to say—"Nor is it only in the apostolic writings that this identity is found. St. Clement wrote probably in the last decade of the first century, and in his language the terms are convertible. Towards the close of the second century the original application of the term 'Bishop' seems to have passed not only out of use, but almost out of memory. . . . In the fourth century when the fathers of the Church began to examine the Apostolic records with a more critical eye, they at once detected the fact. . . . Of his predecessors the Ambrosial Hilary had discerned the same truth. Of his contemporaries and successors, Chrysostom, Pelagius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, all acknowledge it. Thus in every one of the extant Commentaries on the epistles containing the crucial passages,

[1] We do not attempt to give them in chronological order. The names themselves are enough to show the consensus of opinion for the past two hundred years.

whether Greek or Latin, before the close of the fifth century, this identity is affirmed." Again, "Even in the fourth and fifth century when the independence and power of the episcopate had reached its maximum, *it was still customary for a Bishop in writing to a Presbyter to address him as 'fellow Presbyter,' thus bearing testimony to a substantial IDENTITY OF ORDER. NOR DOES IT APPEAR THAT THIS VIEW WAS EVER QUESTIONED UNTIL THE REFORMATION.*" (*Comm. on Philipp.*, pp. 96, 230.) Thus we see that one of the greatest of modern scholars, a Bishop of the Church of England asserts emphatically that the Anglican Reformers of the Sixteenth Century were correct in maintaining that it had ever been the teaching of the *Catholic Church*, that Bishop and Presbyter were *one ORDER*. He fully corroborates our contention (supported as we have seen by such "Catholics" as Blunt and Maskell) that this was the *received* view down to the Reformation. This means again, that the present "catholic" theory which regards the Episcopate as *a separate* and *superior* ORDER from the Presbyterate, with all its corollaries regarding the nature of a valid Ministry and Church, so far from being CATHOLIC DOCTRINE, asserted "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*," is a *recent invention*—never heard of till the Reformation, never asserted, as Blunt admits, "till the *close* of the Sixteenth Century." Who then represents the OFFICIAL attitude of the Church of England, and the attitude of the CATHOLIC CHURCH on the subject of Episcopacy—Lightfoot or Zanzibar? Was Light-

foot a *heretic?* Gieseler, the well-known historian, bears precisely the same testimony—"*It is remarkable how long this notion of the ORIGINAL SAMENESS of Bishops and Presbyters was retained. . . . It was not till AFTER THE REFORMATION that this view was attacked.*" (*Hist.*, vol. i., pp. 56–65.) So also Neander informs us that it was "*soon after* the Apostolic age, the standing office of *president* of the Presbytery must have been formed. . . . Thus the name (*Episcopos*) came to be applied exclusively to this Presbyter, while the name Presbyter continued at first to be common to all; FOR THE BISHOPS AS PRESIDING PRESBYTERS, HAD NO OFFICIAL CHARACTER OTHER THAN THAT OF THE PRESBYTERS GENERALLY. THEY WERE ONLY *primi inter pares.*" (*Hist.*, vol. i., p. 190.) Herzog asserts that "the Bishop *early acquired* authority to appoint and ordain Elders. *But even in this respect there was for several centuries no uniform rule; for whilst the Council of Ancyra* (314) *made ordination the duty of Bishops of the larger cities, and forbid country bishops or presbyters to ordain, THE DISTINCTION WAS NOT STRICTLY OBSERVED IN OTHER PARTS OF THE CHURCH.*" (*Encyc. of Theol.*, Art. "Bishop.") Even the Roman Catholic, Prof. Ellendorf of Berlin, does not hesitate to add his testimony to the same effect:—"The inquiry now is, whether there were such Bishops in the Apostolical Church as a specially appointed institution given by Christ? After we have carefully examined and compared all the writings of the New Testament, and have likewise consulted

the oldest traditions after the time of the Apostles, we see ourselves forced decisively to reply in the negative to this question, and to hold firmly by the view that *originally there were no Bishops in the present sense; that from the beginning onward, Bishop and Priest formed one and the same rank and grade, one and the same dignity.* . . . We draw the conclusion that in the Apostolic Church *there were no Bishops as a higher Order of rank above Priests, appointed by Christ;* that, still more, *Bishops and Priests were one and the same,* and that accordingly, in any Church, *there were as many Bishops as there were Priests who united in a college—the Presbytery—in COMMON administered the highest government in the Church.*" (*Bib. Sacra.*, Jan., 1859—cited by Gallagher.) Dr. Charles A. Briggs writes exhaustively on this subject in an article entitled *The Historic Episcopate as a Basis of Reunion,* from which we extract the following: "Recent historical research is very damaging to all *jure divino* theories of Church government. . . . *There is agreement among recent historical critics of all parties that there is no record of the institution of the Diocesan Bishop in the New Testament.* The only Bishops of the New Testament are *Presbyter-Bishops,* and these are ever associated in a college or Presbytery. Nowhere do we find a Church under the guidance of ONE of these Presbyter-Bishops. Nowhere do we find more than one Church in one city. *Hatch, Lightfoot, Gore, Sanday, Harnack, and Schaff are agreed as to this point.* . . . The claim that Bishops are the Successors of the Apostles is NO

LONGER DEFENDED ON THE GROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, BUT ON THE GROUND OF THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND CHRISTIAN CENTURY. . . . We are not on the ground of the Divine right of the New Testament. *We have nothing more than very ancient historic right for the Historic Episcopate, but no Divine right.* . . . The claim that *ordination by Diocesan Bishops has special grace, without which there is no VALID MINISTRY, is the most objectionable of all the claims that are put forth on behalf of the Historic Episcopate at the present time. WE HOLD THAT* THERE IS NO EVIDENCE FOR THIS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, OR IN THE SECOND CHRISTIAN CENTURY." Thomas Wymberly Mossman, Rector of Torrington, in his *History of the Early Christian Church*, tells us that "it has been too hastily assumed that Protestants and Non-Conformists, as they are called, would not have had standing ground in the Primitive Church. I thought so once. Deeper reading and reflection, have convinced me of the contrary." (Preface, p. xiv.) "All ancient writers are brought into perfect harmony with each other—the Apostles themselves, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Clement of Rome, Tertullian, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, even St. Cyprian, the traditions of particular Churches, facts of history without number, which no longer require to be explained away, but fit harmoniously into the fair edifice of historical truth, all unite in testifying with accordant voice what the great doctor of the Church, St. Jerome, proclaims in the words quoted above, that EPISCOPACY WAS NOT

OF THE LORD'S INSTITUTION, BUT WAS A CUSTOM WHICH GREW UP TO TAKE AWAY SCHISM. . . . How it is possible for any one, most of all that school which professes to glory in accepting the Fathers as witnesses to the faith and practice of the Primitive Church, to shut their eyes to the testimony of St. Jerome, is one of those mysteries which will probably always remain a perplexity to the student of moral philosophy." (p. 98 *et seq.*) In further comment upon the primitive identity of Bishop and Presbyter, and the fact that Presbyters did ordain at times, he makes this pertinent remark: "The fact that Mark himself (the reputed founder of the Church at Alexandria) who certainly did not hold any higher rank in the Apostolic Church than that of one of the Seventy disciples, in other words, of Presbyter, or Elder, YET ORDAINED OTHER PRESBYTERS, is a proof that Presbyters had the power of ordination. If there were any truth in the Episcopal theory, that Bishops have succeeded in the place of the Apostles, Presbyters of the Seventy Elders, St. Mark ought to have been ordained Bishop, before he himself could ordain. BUT ALL ANTIQUITY TESTIFIES THAT MARK WAS NEVER ANYTHING HIGHER THAN A PRESBYTER." Dr. G. A. Jacob, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, says: "The Episcopate in the modern acceptation of the term, *and as a distinct clerical Order*, does not appear in the New Testament, but was *gradually* introduced and extended throughout the Church at a later period." Elsewhere, he writes: "Jerome expressly affirms that it was ecclesiastical custom, and the desire to

prevent disputes and NOT ANY DIVINE LAW that caused the distinction between Bishops and Presbyters. . . . Long after the general establishment of Episcopacy, and reaching even to the fourth century, traces are to be found of Presbyterian ordinations still retaining their place in the Christian Church." (p. 67 *et seq.*)

Dr. Henry A. Boardman, in his work on the Apostolic Succession, says: "I shall show in another connection, that it was the common judgment of the Reformers and the Reformed Churches, *that Bishops and Presbyters are by Divine institution ONE ORDER*, and that the existing arrangements in prelatical Churches by which the powers of jurisdiction and ordination have been taken from Presbyters, and given exclusively to the Bishops, is a matter of mere *human* arrangement." Again, after examining the subject exhaustively, he says: "These extracts show that it is the *common* judgment of REFORMED CHRISTENDOM, a *party* in the Church of England and in the Episcopal Church in this country *excepted*, that Bishops and Presbyters are, according to the Word of God, of ONE ORDER, and that PRESBYTERS, equally with Bishops, have a RIGHT TO ORDAIN." Dr. George P. Fisher, the well known Church historian gives precisely the same evidence. "*Gradually*," says he, "in the Church, ordination *came* to be the peculiar prerogative of the Bishop; but as late as the Council of Ancyra (A. D. 314), we find by the 13th Canon, that Presbyters, with the Bishop's consent, *may still ordain*. In the great Church of Alexandria,

as we are told by Jerome, down to the middle of the third century, a vacancy in the Episcopal office was filled by the twelve Presbyters from their own number, who, it would appear, if he received any new consecration, themselves advanced him to the higher office; as, indeed, Hilary Ambrosiaster, and Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria in the Ninth Century, expressly state." He also refers to "the thoroughly learned and candid discussion of the whole subject" presented by Lightfoot (whose testimony we have already adduced), and sums up the general attitude of modern scholars upon the matter in these significant words: "Respecting the rise of the Episcopate, there is, at the present day, a near approach to a CONSENSUS among scholars in the various Protestant Churches." (See his *Beginnings of Christianity*.) But strong as all this evidence is, it is as nothing, beside that which Dr. Edwin Hatch has presented. In fact, we have up to this point adduced only the testimony of the more conservative modern authorities. If we should accept the views of Dr. Hatch, whose work on the *Organization of the Early Christian Churches* is considered by many scholars to be the ablest discussion of the subject that has yet appeared, as it certainly is the most radical, we should be driven into a position still more extreme. It is not our purpose, however, to enter here and now into the merits or demerits of this author's theory on the subject, and we mention it here only to show that the *tendency* of the latest scholarship is still more radical, that so far from favouring "catholic" opinions as

to the origin of Episcopacy, and the related questions concerning ordination and government in the primitive Church, the present tendency is to go even beyond the views regarded as "orthodox" by most non-Episcopal bodies themselves. This means that whatever may be the real truth of the matter, recent scholars are at least very generally agreed that it is *not* embodied in the doctrines of "Catholics." As Prof. Fisher has expressed it, there is "a near approach to a CONSENSUS among scholars" on this point. Again, as Principal Fairbairn (himself an eminent authority) has told us, in commenting upon this very work of Dr. Hatch: "English scholarship, broadened and illumined by German, is becoming too critical in spirit and historical in method, to spare *the old High Anglican doctrines. The Divine Right of Episcopacy is dead; it died of the light created by historical criticism.* IT IS OPEN TO NO MANNER OF DOUBT THAT THE MODERN BISHOP HAS NO PLACE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT." (Quoted in *The True Hist. Epis.*, p. 288.) But finally, whatever may be said in criticism of the picture which Dr. Hatch has portrayed of the early organization of the Christian Churches, and the gradual development of the Ministry, there is, at least, no reasonable ground for doubting the general conclusion to which it leads, viz: that in the last analysis of the matter, the ULTIMATE SOURCE OF POWER, the RESERVOIR OF DIVINE GRACE AND AUTHORITY is not any one Order of the Ministry, but the entire BODY of the Church. In fact, all theories which make the Church to depend

for its very *being* or *existence* either upon the Episcopate or any other grade of the Ministry, completely reverse the true logical order. *The Church is not a function of the Ministry, but the Ministry is a function of the Church*—it is that arm of the Church which *ministers* or *administers*, as through a channel, the Divine Grace. This Grace or Power so administered is unquestionably *Divine*—that is, considered in itself, *per se*, it is not from below, but from above—it is not of Man but of God—it is not *of* either the Ministry or the Church, but of Christ. Nevertheless through the incarnation Christ has deposited this Power *in the Body of all believers—the Church*—as a reservoir, which BODY or CHURCH possesses the power to provide what *human agencies* or *channels* it may see fit, for its proper *distribution* or *administration*. It would have been perfectly possible for Christ to have instituted or ordained some particular form or pattern of Ministry, to be perpetuated, had he so desired, but the significant fact is that there is no ONE FORM OR PATTERN PRESCRIBED ANYWHERE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. This was *the unanimous* opinion of the Anglican Reformers and is the generally accepted view of modern scholars. As an actual matter of fact, the New Testament reveals not three, but many orders of Ministers—no one set of which are anywhere prescribed as absolutely essential, and it is only in post-Apostolic times that *two* out of all the original, and *one* not mentioned at all in the New Testament (*i. e.* as a separate Order), gradually emerge as predominant. The best that can be said,

then, is that, while no one form of the Ministry is actually *commanded*, yet while it is always a duty to adhere as strictly as possible to whatever example was set by the Apostles, and to whatever has come down from the very beginning with but little change, it is incumbent upon us to preserve these *three* Orders as being, obviously, those which adherence to the principles of antiquity and catholicity most particularly demands that we should preserve. Even these three, our Anglican divines were most careful to point out, were not of EQUAL importance; for while the Episcopate was undoubtedly ancient and catholic it was only the Presbyterate and the Diaconate that *could actually be found in the New Testament itself*, and which were unquestionably of Apostolic origin.[1] While, therefore, it was *highly expedient* that the Episcopate should be preserved, it was more than merely "expedient" that the other two should be maintained. It was really "necessary" to maintain them, *if the Church desired to hold to Apostolic precedent* and *example*. While, therefore, not intending to insist upon either of these two as "necessary" *to the actual BEING* of the Church (*for this was the whole point of her controversy with the Puritans, see Hooker*), she did regard it as "*necessary*" to the "*well-being*" thereof, and accordingly took pains to emphasize

[1] Here again we must remind our readers that the High Church assumption that Bishops succeeded to the rank then called Apostles, is *pure assumption*. There is absolutely no proof of this. Even Lightfoot says, "the opinion . . . that the same officers who were first called Apostles came afterwards to be designated Bishops, *is baseless*." (*Christian Ministry*, p. 30.)

this fact in the Rubrics of the Ordinal (to which we have already referred).[1] We see, therefore, that back of all her insistence upon the "necessity" (*in the above sense*) of preserving the Presbyterate and the Diaconate, and the *wisdom* of preserving the ancient and catholic office of Bishop—if she were really to represent the Primitive, Catholic and Apostolic Church—back of all that, we repeat, she took the utmost pains to point out, to her Puritan assailants on the one hand, and her Roman opponents on the other, that NO ONE FORM OF MINISTRY OR GOVERNMENT WAS EVER DIVINELY AUTHORIZED AS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO THE BEING OF THE CHURCH. This is, as we have shown, *repeatedly* affirmed by the Anglican divines both of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth centuries. In a word, then, this conclusion to which the investigations of Dr. Hatch lead us —viz: that the source or reservoir of the Divine Power is the entire BODY of the Church, and not any one Order of the Ministry—is, after all is said and done, *nothing more than what all our own Anglican Reformers taught*—the position briefly summarized by the judicious Hooker himself as follows: "THE WHOLE CHURCH VISIBLE BEING THE TRUE ORIGINAL

[1] Please observe that whenever we speak of the "*Necessity*" of these two "Orders," we do so *only in this sense* (the sense in which it was used by the Revisers of 1662)—necessary if the Church would preserve a *precedent* actually inaugurated by the Apostles and *clearly* revealed in the New Testament (which cannot be said of the Episcopate)—necessary, in the sense that no Ancient Custom or Tradition should be abandoned, save for weighty reasons—least of all an *Apostolic* Custom. See Art. XXXIV.

SUBJECT OF ALL POWER, it hath not ORDINARILY allowed any other than Bishops alone to ordain: howbeit as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, SO IT MAY BE IN SOME CASES NOT UNNECESSARY THAT WE DECLINE FROM THE ORDINARY WAYS." (*Eccles. Polity*, Bk. vii., Ch. xiv., 11.) Again, this opinion of the Anglican Reformers[1] was likewise the opinion held by Tertullian, who distinctly affirms that "*The authority of the Church and the honor sanctified through the establishment of the Order (of the Clergy) has constituted the difference between the Order and the people. Accordingly, where there is no establishment of the ecclesiastical Order, you offer, and baptize and are Priest alone for yourself. But where there are three,*[2] *there is the Church, THOUGH THEY BE LAYMEN.*" Therefore, if you have the right of a Priest in your own person, *in case of necessity, it behooves you to have also the discipline of a Priest.*" (*De Exh. Cast.* 7.)

But why be shocked at such a statement? If Tertullian's opinions are not to be trusted, and if

[1] We might quote any number of passages bearing out the fact that this view of Hooker was *the common opinion of the Anglican Reformers*, but space forbids. However, if the reader will consult the following passages, he will find enough to convince him that this view was by no means peculiar to Hooker. See Whitgift, *Works*, vol. i., p. 184; Dr. John Bridges, *Defence of Gov't Estab. in Ch. Eng.*, pp. 319, 320; Bishop Thos. Cooper, *Admon. to People of Eng.*, p. 163; Dr. Richard Cosin, *Answer to an Abstract*, p. 58.

[2] "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii., 20). This is the basis of the Church, for wherever the Divine Presence is, there is likewise the *Divine Authority*.

even the views of the vast majority of the Anglican Divines who themselves formulated the *official* doctrines of our Church are no longer to be regarded as *official* in said Church (whatever the explanation of such inscrutable contradiction), has the name of the "judicious Hooker" ceased altogether to be revered among us? Or to come down to our own time, must Lightfoot, too, be banished from the ranks of orthodox Anglican Divines for venturing to make the same audacious declaration as Tertullian and Hooker—viz: that the authority of the whole Body of the Church was superior to that of the Episcopate, that the latter was, in reality, merely a function of the former? Yet if he did not likewise hold this opinion, what is the meaning of the following: "It may be a general rule, it may be under ordinary circumstances a practically universal law, that the highest acts of congregational worship shall be performed through the principal officers of the Congregation. But an emergency may arise when the Spirit and not the letter must decide. The Christian ideal will then interpose and interpret our duty. *The higher ordinance of the universal priesthood will overrule all special limitations. THE LAYMAN WILL ASSUME FUNCTIONS WHICH ARE OTHERWISE RESTRICTED TO THE ORDAINED MINISTER.*" Then, as further justifying this opinion, he refers again to *the self-same passage in Tertullian, which we have just cited, only quoting it at greater length.* (See *Epis. to Philippians*, p. 268.) Moreover, Dean Alford, and a number of other modern scholars (*e. g.*, Hammond, Geikie, Lind-

say, etc.) are all unanimous in the opinion that the Commission given by our Lord in Matt. xxviii., 19, and which our High Church brethren have always assumed, as a matter of course, was addressed to the Twelve Apostles *alone*, was, in reality, *addressed to all the disciples*—the *ENTIRE BODY OF THE CHURCH*. Says he (Alford): "We are therefore obliged to conclude that *others* were present (*i. e.*, besides the Eleven). Whether these others were the 'five hundred brethren at once,' of whom Paul speaks, does not appear." (See Commentary.) Even Westcott, in commenting upon the Commission bestowed in John xx., 19–23, tells us the same thing; —"The commission and promise were given, like the pentecostal blessing, which they prefigure, to the CHRISTIAN SOCIETY, AND NOT TO ANY SPECIAL ORDER IN IT." (*The Revelation of the Risen Lord*, pp. 81, 82.) So also Plummer testifies to the same effect: "The Commission, therefore, in the first instance, is to the CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, NOT TO THE MINISTRY ALONE." (*Cambridge Bible*, p. 363.) This view that the SOVEREIGN POWER to authorize a valid Ministry, and establish what form of Ecclesiastical Government it may see fit, rests ultimately with THE ENTIRE BODY OF THE CONGREGATION is, *of course*, the OFFICIAL view of the Church itself as set forth in Article XXIII., in the Preface to the Prayer Book, and elsewhere, but to those who have not the desire to see it, it is almost impossible to make it evident. The mere fact that a Church, which is *alleged* to maintain that Episcopal ordination and

Government are *absolutely essential* to its very *BEING*, should have been so remiss as *to make that statement nowhere in any of her official acts and formularies*, but on the contrary should have told us that all were to be accounted lawful Ministers, in any Church, provided they had been "called to this work *by men who had public authority given unto them in the Congregation*," and this, too, knowing full well that such a declaration, so far as it possesses any meaning at all, fully covers the Ministry of Non-Episcopal Churches, is a matter which, of course, presents no difficulties whatever to such minds; the mere fact that they further (as is well attested by numerous official acts and utterances), recognized such Churches and Ministries, again has no bearing whatever for such persons upon *this* interpretation of said Article; the further fact that Bishop Hooper, *one of the very company who framed the said Article*, has himself given this very interpretation of it (alleging that it was drawn up thus, or so worded, "*lest that any man should be seduced, believing himself to be bound unto any ordinary Succession of Bishops and Priests*"), (quoted by Hardwick, *Hist. Articles*, Append. p. 276, note), is, likewise of course, of *no consequence* (said Hooper being a "miscreant," a "Traitor" etc.); the further fact that *numberless* passages can be adduced from the writings of the English Divines, covering a period of nigh two hundred years, all directly or indirectly, justifying such an interpretation; or, finally, that such a scholar as Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, in a work devoted to an '*Exposition of the*

Thirty-nine Articles, should have gone exhaustively into the significance of this very Article, and *have given precisely the same interpretation*[1]—all these, of course, are idle objections. But however impotent to affect the opinions of "Catholics," we venture to assert that with those who have not already pre-

[1] "If a company of Christians find the public worship where they live to be so defiled that they cannot with a good conscience join in it, and if they do not know of any place to which they can conveniently go, where they may worship God purely, and in a regular way;—if, I say, such a body, finding some that have been ordained, *though to the lower functions*, should submit itself entirely to their conduct, or, *finding none of those, should by a common consent desire some of their own numbers to minister to them in holy things*, and should upon that beginning grow up to a regulated Constitution,—though we are very sure that this is quite out of all rule, and could not be done without a very great sin, unless the necessity were great and apparent, yet, if the necessity is real and not feigned, *this is not condemned or annulled by the Article* (*i. e.*, Art. XXIII.)—for when this grows to a Constitution, and when it was begun by consent *of a body* who are *supposed to have an Authority in such an extraordinary case*, whatever some hotter spirits have thought of this since that time; *yet we are very sure, that not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the Foreign Churches, so constituted, to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church*, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and continued still to be in an *imperfect* state. *And, therefore, the general words in which this part of the Article* (viz.: Art. XXIII.—*the one in question) is framed, seem to have been designed on purpose not to exclude them.*" He adds also on next page (what is attested everywhere in the writings of Anglican Divines for 200 years): "*Neither our Reformers, nor their Successors for near eighty years after those Articles were published, did ever question the Constitution of such Churches.*" (*Expos. Thirty-nine Articles.* See Art. XXIII.) Nor since that day have those who questioned it ever been able to embody their opinions in the *official formularies* of the Church. "Catholics" are *still* attempting it. The proposed Name —if adopted—will be the final *official recognition* of their principles.

judged the case, they will possess no little weight and importance. The simple, unvarnished truth is that this view of the Source of Authority held, as we have seen, not only by some of the most eminent scholars and theologians of the present day, but also by Tertullian, and by the Anglican Reformers (whose opinion is cogently summed up in the above quotation from Hooker) *was, and is, the established* view of the Church. Herein lies the answer to all the common-place objections urged by "Catholics" against the possibility of any organized body of Christians legitimately authorizing a Ministry according to whatever pattern or plan it may see fit. For example, when we are informed by Mr. F. N. Westcott (whose statement may be taken as representative of the general view of "Catholics") that no Congregation can give Ministerial Authority, "because laymen cannot possibly give that which they never had. . . . A stream cannot rise higher than its source," etc. (*Catholic Principles*, pp. 266, 267), the fallacy should be obvious. "A stream cannot rise higher than its source"— quite true! *But, what is higher than the Authority of the Church or Congregation AS A WHOLE?* The Ministry, we repeat, *is a function of the Church, not the Church of the Ministry.* It is simply the *arm* or *organ* which "*ministers*" or "*administers*" the Sovereign Power, placed by God Himself in "the BODY" or "CHURCH" as a reservoir. The collective Body of Laymen and Clergy combined (if there be Clergy) or otherwise of Laymen alone, *IS* the *SOURCE* of the stream—*than*

which there is nothing "higher"—and that this is the OFFICIAL view of the Church herself will be seen in a moment by referring to any of the official formularies of the Church, which are all *authorized*, or set forth authoritatively, *by the entire body of "the Bishops the Clergy, and the Laity."* To be more specific—*the Preface to the Ordinal itself*, the very instrument which sets forth what kind of Ministry and of Government shall exist in this Church, the very instrument which determines the kind of Ordination which shall obtain within this Communion, is AUTHORITATIVE only because it was *"established by the Bishops, the Clergy, and Laity of said Church, in General Convention in the month of September, A. D. 1792."* (See Ordinal.) This Convention, in turn, was only competent to *"establish"* this Episcopal form of Government and Ordination, because AUTHORIZED or EMPOWERED so to do by *the whole BODY of the people in all the Dioceses*, the *entire BODY OF THE CHURCH*. Of course what is true of the Preface to the Ordinal is true likewise of the entire Ordinal itself—is true also of the entire Prayer Book—of all the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* contained therein—all are "established" by the will of the entire CHURCH or CONGREGATION, not by any particular ORDER OF MINISTERS therein.[1] Wherever in any Rubric it is written that the Bishop, the Priest, or the Deacon *"shall"* do this or that, the order is AUTHORIZED

[1] Any one familiar with the historic *authorization* of our Prayer Book knows this to be true. In illustration see Dalcho, *Hist. Church in South Carolina*, Appendix II.

self-evidently by the ENTIRE BODY, not by any one Order of its Ministry—it is the WHOLE CHURCH that thus COMMANDS. The mistake is in supposing that any RITE or CEREMONY of the Church, including even the particular RITES and CEREMONIES authorized in the ORDAINING of Deacons, Priests, and BISHOPS is of the same FUNDAMENTAL importance as the ESSENTIAL DOCTRINES OF THE FAITH (and so UNALTERABLE) and not, as we are distinctly told by the same AUTHORITY which established them "*things in their own nature INDIFFERENT* and ALTERABLE and SO ACKNOWLEDGED." (See Preface to Prayer Book.) We are here, of course, contrasting the Authority of the Church with that of *Its Ministry only*. It is by no means implied by these assertions that the Power of the Church is, *per se, arbitrary and unlimited*. It is, of course, of the very ESSENCE of the Church to witness to the Truth of Christ as manifest in the Gospel—hence to administer the Power entrusted to it *in accordance with THE WRITTEN WORD*. Even the Authority of the Church then is limited, *but it is limited only by Holy Scripture*. So far from nullifying our argument, however, it is this very supremacy of Holy Scripture (so much emphasized by the Reformers) that gives it point and meaning. The mistake, commonly made, is in supposing that any RITE or CEREMONY not SO EXPLICITLY COMMANDED IN HOLY SCRIPTURE AS TO BE BEYOND ALL DOUBT A DIVINE ORDINANCE is to be fastened upon men as a NECESSARY OBSERVANCE. That Baptism, Holy Communion, and Government, *in general*,

have been authorized of Holy Scripture, no one seriously doubts; but that of the many forms of administration, or of the many interpretations of the inner meaning and significance of these institutions which have been advocated from time to time, *any one* can be proved BEYOND ALL DOUBT to be EXPRESSLY COMMANDED OF HOLY SCRIPTURE, is quite another proposition. Whenever it came to matters of this kind, whether Doctrines or Usages, howsoever great their Antiquity or Catholicity, the Reformers asserted that none could be insisted upon as absolutely essential, and that, as a consequence, each particular or national Church had the right to adopt, abolish, alter, or amend such things as they saw fit, provided nothing be done contrary to the teaching of Scripture. That Baptism is necessary and divinely ordained, is one thing; but that any *one* method of administering it, as for example, by sprinkling, or by pouring, or by immersion, was specifically ordained of Christ as necessary, and that, consequently, no other form is valid, is quite another. That Holy Communion is likewise necessarily to be observed, will generally be admitted as a proposition resting upon the authority of Holy Scripture; but that the necessity of receiving it fasting, or after Confession to a Priest, or that it is only *valid* when the mixed chalice is used, etc.—these are propositions which can never be demonstrated out of the statements of Holy Scripture alone. So, in precisely the same manner, the Reformers regarded the Episcopal Form of Government. That Bishops are mentioned in Holy

Scripture as ordained of the Apostles is absolutely undeniable; but that Bishops succeeded to an alleged "*Order*" of Apostles, or that it can be demonstrated upon the authority of the New Testament alone that they were a distinct *ORDER*, over and above Presbyters, and not a mere *OFFICE* of the Presbyterate; or that to them was bequeathed the *exclusive* prerogative of Ordination, or that *any one ORDER* was so set apart by express Divine Command, so that the very EXISTENCE of the Church, the Sacraments, and even of individual Christians depended upon it; all these were conclusions which they insisted possessed no warrant of HOLY WRIT, and hence were "not to be required of any man, that they (it) should be believed." We repeat, therefore, that the particular kind of Ecclesiastical Government, and the particular Forms of Ordination, prescribed in the Ordinal for THIS Church—even like the particular methods of Baptizing (see Rubric as to "dipping" or "pouring"), and of administering and receiving the Communion (compare our Liturgical Form with that of Greek or Roman) are BINDING and AUTHORITATIVE only because "established" by THE WHOLE BODY of this "*particular*" Church. In short, matters of "DISCIPLINE" or "CHURCH GOVERNMENT" (see Preface to Prayer Book), even like such "RITES AND CEREMONIES" (see Preface, and Art. XXXIV.) are matters upon which Holy Scripture has set forth NO CLEAR, CERTAIN, and UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENTS OR COMMANDS (as is evident from the simple fact that after centuries of discussion Chris-

tians are still disagreed as to its testimony). For that very reason, the only authority that can "establish" any one form or method to be observed in these things is that of *the entire body* of "*each particular or national Church.*" In a word, *wherever disagreement among Christians exists regarding the attitude of Holy Scripture upon any matter, there each particular or National Church must decide for itself, and its authority can (obviously) extend only to its members.* To sum it all up, if nothing is "*to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation,*" unless it can be "*read*" in "*Holy Scripture,*" or "*may be PROVED thereby*" (Art. VI.), it is perfectly obvious that before the proposition that Episcopal Government is absolutely essential to the BEING of the Church and to the *VALIDITY* of its Ministry and Sacraments can be "*required of any man that it should be believed,*" etc., it must be clearly pointed out as an actual statement of Scripture, or else must be "PROVED" or DEMONSTRATED as an UNAVOIDABLE LOGICAL INFERENCE from actual statements therein. But again, if with regard to the proposition in question, neither of these alternatives is possible, while it is obvious that no part of the Christian world can insist upon the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, or any other ONE form of Government as EXCLUSIVELY legitimate, or ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL, it nevertheless falls to each particular or National Church to decide *for itself* what kind of Government it shall recognize, and when once such a

Government shall have been so "ESTABLISHED" BY ITS OWN AUTHORITY, the same must, of necessity, be recognized as LEGITIMATE and ALLOWABLE under HOLY SCRIPTURE, even though it be not *absolutely required* thereby. In other words, because under the DIVINE CHARTER of HOLY SCRIPTURE no One form is necessary, and each "particular or National Church" is left free to ordain what form of Government it will, it follows that whatever form any one establishes BY ITS OWN AUTHORITY, is thereby DIVINELY SANCTIONED. There is no contradiction involved, then, in the assertion that the EPISCOPAL FORM is "ESTABLISHED" here in our midst, ONLY BY AUTHORITY OF THIS PARTICULAR CHURCH OR CONGREGATION, and yet is therein and thereby DIVINELY AUTHORIZED. The same can also be said of Presbyterian Government in a Presbyterian Church. We repeat, therefore, without fear of successful contradiction, that the Episcopal Government is authoritative in this Protestant Episcopal Church, not because it can be "PROVED" or DEMONSTRATED out of the Scriptures, as the ONE AND ONLY FORM OF GOVERNMENT ORDAINED OF CHRIST HIMSELF (an assumption which is simply preposterous) but *because it has been "established" by the will and authority of the entire Body of this Congregation acting through their chosen representatives in Convention assembled.*

It is because then this particular Form of Government has been "established" by *the Sovereign Power of the entire Church or Congregation* that it is *authoritative*, and had the entire Body seen fit to

"*establish*" some other Form, *this other Form would be authoritative, and Bishops would have no jurisdiction whatever.* This fact our American Revisers further justify in the Preface to the Prayer Book (again set forth by *the Entire Body* of the Church) wherein, as we have already shown, they stress the fact that matters of *Discipline* or *Ecclesiastical Government* were matters that could be *altered* or *changed* by *particular Churches or Congregations* as circumstances required, and that because the result of the American Revolution had been the establishment of ecclesiastical as well as civil independence, "*the different religious denominations of Christians in these States* (*N. B.*) *were left at full and equal liberty to MODEL AND ORGANIZE THEIR RESPECTIVE CHURCHES,* and forms of Worship, and *DISCIPLINE,*[1] in such manner as they might judge most convenient for their future prosperity," etc. Moreover, it is ridiculous to argue that such a view undermines all the authority of the Episcopate. Who is it that denies that the Sovereign Power of these United States is vested in the people—*i. e. the entire mass* of citizens? Yet does that fact in any wise diminish the legitimate authority of the President and other Officers, or in any sense, even the most remote, absolve any one of us from sincere obedience to their official proclamations and commands. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon this. We take it that any *unbiassed* mind will perceive at a glance that such a view no more undermines the respect and reverence

[1] See meaning of "*Discipline*" before explained.

due from every churchman to his Bishop, than it undermines the respect and reverence which every citizen of these United States owes his President. It no more justifies the conclusion that any individual who imagines that he is called to the office and work of a Minister in the Church of God, has therefore the right to take upon himself the administration of its rites and Sacraments, unauthorized, than the like principle justifies the conclusion that any man who imagines that he is called to civil office, has for that reason any right to assume such office and to exercise the functions thereof, before he has been legitimately admitted thereto by "those to whom public authority has been given" in the State to admit or authorize such persons. Nor again, is anything gained by attempting to muddy the waters by insinuating that the principle which applies to the Civil Government cannot be applied to the Ecclesiastical; that, in the one case, the power which is exercised is a purely *Human* power, latent in the people, whereas in the other, it is a *Divine* Power—potential not in Man at all, but in God. This again is sophistical; for, in the first place, the premisses themselves are untrue. The ultimate Source of all power, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical, is *Divine*. "The powers that be (*i. e.* the Civil Powers) *are ordained of God*"—all rulers are "*Ministers of God*" (Romans xiii.) and exercise the power and authority of God, and if the Divine Power can be committed to the entire Body of the People in the one case, it can be likewise so committed in the other. Furthermore, whether

looked at from the Protestant or from the "Catholic" point of view, the Divine Power exercised by the Ministry of the Church *is*, in *either* case, committed to earthen vessels, entrusted to a body or group of mere *men* as its reservoir. It is just as easy for God to place His Divine Power in *the entire Body* of His people as in *any particular "Order"* or *Group* of that Congregation (*i. e.* Ministers). If He has placed it in *the Body of the Church*, the Bishops and other Ministers appointed by the Body or Congregation, administer this Divine Power, and act with the Authority of God Himself, just as truly and as certainly as they would do, had the other method of administration been really established. But enough of this! The facts above presented we believe are quite sufficient to convince any unprejudiced mind of the truth of our statement that the attitude which modern scholarship has assumed toward the whole problem of the Episcopate is one which is utterly antagonistic to that which is assumed by "Catholics," and, *mirabile dictu!*—is in further *substantial agreement* with that maintained by Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Jewel. It is in agreement, in fact, with all those "ignorant and fanatical Reformers" of the sixteenth century who framed our Prayer Book, Articles, and other unfortunate ordinances, those "base traitors" and "miscreants," the "mistakes" of whose "Reformation" so called, we would now "correct," and whose "heretical Protestantism," we would now expunge from our Church.

What claim, then, can these "Catholic" principles

have upon the members of this Communion? These principles are neither primitive, nor catholic, nor true. We have shown them to have been unknown to the Apostles and the early Christians, unknown to the Catholic Church for sixteen centuries. They were emphatically repudiated by the Anglican Reformers and the men who framed our Prayer Book and other formularies. Though frequently *proposed* for adoption, since the days of the Reformation, they have always hitherto been consistently *rejected* by Lawful Authority. These principles are wholly incompatible with the OFFICIAL doctrines of this Church. Modern scholars, out of every quarter of the Christian world, have, with singular unanimity, declared them to be contrary to all the facts which historical criticism has brought to light. The simple truth is that this "exclusive" theory of the Episcopate with its corollaries regarding the validity of non-episcopal Ordination, the nature and limits of the Catholic Church, etc., is POPULAR ONLY BECAUSE OF ITS WEAKNESS, seductive only because so flattering to the vanity of Bishops. It is popular because it is so alluring to the false pride of many others, Clergy and Laymen alike, who bow to the idol of ecclesiastical aristocracy. These men would regard the mere *outer* Succession of names and persons, as of more value than the *inner* Succession of Faith and Doctrine. They, in short, would make the *essence* or "*BEING*" of a Church to consist in its PEDIGREE rather than in its FAITH. Shall we allow ourselves to be controlled by senti-

ments such as these? Will the Bishops of this Anglican Communion,—the first to agitate the cause of Christian Reunion, the first to arouse the conscience of the Church in regard to the sinfulness of our existing divisions, the first to impress the entire Christian world with the solemn DUTY of rising above the spirit of narrowness, exclusiveness, and intolerance, of nobly and heroically sacrificing all mere worldly and denominational interests for the sake of realizing this one supreme end and ideal, will they be the very first to stultify the cause by yielding to the spirit of selfishness, illiberality, denominationalism? Will they, of all others, be the first to insist upon the adoption of a certain principle, not an official doctrine of our communion, remember, but the mere shibboleth of a party within it, as an absolute ESSENTIAL, a *sine qua non* to such reunion? For one, I refuse to believe it. Be assured, O Reader, he who writes these words is no enemy of Episcopacy. He who writes thus, writes not in bitterness, but in sorrow, as one who has been reared from his youth up in the Church. He has known and loved no other communion, aye, he is one who knows our Episcopate too well to believe that any considerable portion of it will be permanently misled by this present agitation. He is one who, because of long personal intimacy with many of our American Bishops, has too much admiration and respect for the personnel of that body, to believe that any great number of them would be enticed by such unworthy motives. It is not that the Bishops of this communion are

really actuated by such motives, but nevertheless, when a particular conception of the episcopal office is *honestly* believed to be correct, and such impression is further fostered and increased by the encouragement of many clergy and laity alike—and when, in addition to all this, it happens that such a conception is, simultaneously, flattering to worldly pride and vanity, it stands to reason that it will not be easily surrendered. This is precisely what we find to be the case. *The facts which we have presented in the foregoing pages are perfectly clear to any unbiassed mind.* The fact that the Episcopate is not a separate "Order" from the Presbyterate, the fact, attested even by "Catholic" writers, that it was never so regarded until "the close of the Sixteenth Century," with all that that view involves regarding the validity of non-episcopal Ministries, and the nature and extent of the Church Catholic, would never be seriously questioned, were it not that it further entailed the sacrifice of many worldly pretensions, and the virtual loss of much of that peculiar glamour that so enshrouds the name and title of a Bishop. This may sound a little harsh, but we all know that it is true. Nor is it, after all, our Bishops who are to blame. They would never accept these honors, were they not largely thrust upon them by numbers of our Church people, clergy and laity. It is we, ourselves, who while proclaiming to be democratic, find it exceedingly difficult to curb these aristocratic tendencies within the Church, that are chiefly to blame. The "exclusive" theory of the Episcopate, the theory

that maintains that Episcopal ordination and *no other* is valid, and acceptable in God's sight, the theory that maintains (as a consequence) that no non-episcopal communions, no Protestant Bodies, are real parts of the Catholic Church, the theory which would, accordingly, compel us to assert, by a fundamental change in our official title, that we are *the only* real branch of the Church Catholic that is native to America—that theory, we assert, is one that can never be defended logically upon purely theological grounds, and is the outcome of a spirit whose character is only too obvious to those who have the eyes to see. While, therefore, we have attacked the doctrines of the "Catholic" party generally, it is only their doctrine of the Episcopate, with the theories naturally resulting from it, that we are peculiarly concerned with here. While the actual number of those who hold *all* the characteristic dogmas of the "Catholic" party is, perhaps, comparatively small, yet it so happens that those who are disposed to hold more or less extravagant views on the subject of the Episcopate, are by no means confind to this small coterie, but represent a very large number of churchmen. True, the typical Low Churchman, and even the typical Broad Churchman, will have none of it. With very few exceptions the entire mass of Anglican *scholars* are at one with the rest of the scholars of Christendom in repudiating its underlying principles. In spite of all this, it is undeniably true that quite a large number of the more moderate High Churchmen, men very far from

representing the remaining principles of the "Catholic" party, are wedded to this fiction. It is this large element who merely by their failure to take a decisive stand *against* the agitation for a change of name, are, unintentionally, encouraging and promoting it. *In fact, the vast majority of our clergy have really never studied the question at all.* They have simply taken for granted that a certain theory of the Episcopate and the Church which is POPULAR at the present hour, and which is being assiduously exploited, is both *official* and *true*. Acting upon this assumption, they proceed to preach the dogma of "exclusive" episcopacy, and to vote for a change of name, without ever once stopping to consider the *real consequences* which flow from these assumptions. Ask the average Churchman, for example, if he believes in the Mass, the Confessional, Prayers to the Virgin, etc., and he will answer promptly and decisively—"No!" Ask him, generally, if he believes in the necessity of Episcopal ordination to the validity of the Ministry of a Church, he will again answer, "Yes!" Ask him yet further, if such a view, then, does not entirely cut off all non-episcopal churches from the one true Catholic Church of Christ, and if the adoption of the title American Catholic Church would not mean the condemnation of all these bodies here in America, and nothing else than this, his only answer will be an uncertain—"Ye-es, No-o! Well, I don't know." The truth is, we repeat, very few, even of the clergy, stop to reason out the consequences of this doctrine they so

thoughtlessly accept, and so glibly proclaim. They have never stopped to think about it seriously, at all. Deep down in their hearts they have a feeling (and we wish to say here and now, a *very commendable* feeling it is) of the greatest veneration and respect for that degree of the Ministry which, aside from its just claims to antiquity and universality, has done more to insure the unity of Christendom, and to guarantee continuity of principles within the Church than any other. Deep in their hearts also is the feeling that great injury has been done the Church by the abandonment of the Episcopate in many quarters. Neither can they forget the fact that many harsh, unkind, and unjust things have been said about it by those who have repudiated it. All these things conspire together to impress them with the necessity of rising in its defence the moment *anything whatever* is said against it, whether true or untrue. While the present writer yields to no one in reverence and respect for THIS GRAND OLD INSTITUTION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, and has long since pledged himself to defend it against all the *false* aspersions and calumniations of its enemies, yet he cannot stoop to unreasonable idolatry, or attempt to justify all the extravagant claims and pretensions which are made from time to time in its behalf. Particularly when he sees that such extravagant pretensions form the ONE AND ONLY SERIOUS BARRIER to Christian reunion to-day, whereas a moderate and reasonable view of the matter cannot be seriously objected to by any denomination in Christendom.

Considered purely from a practical point of view, the Episcopate is the only form of Church Government that the entire Christian world can be reasonably expected to agree upon. This was admitted by Dr. Briggs and others, when replying to the overtures for Church Unity set forth by the Anglican bishops some years ago in the so-called Quadrilateral. They expressed their pleasure at the moderation displayed by the English Bishops in urging the adoption of *the Historic Episcopate* only as a basis of organization, without stipulating the acceptance of any objectionable *theories* respecting it as the *exclusive* channel of Divine Grace. In short, the utterance was noteworthy in that instead of demanding the acceptance of any doctrine of *an Apostolic Succession through the Episcopate alone* as *essential* (because necessary to the very BEING of the Church) they merely asked for the adoption of the Episcopate as the Form of Government for united Christendom *without further comment.* This measure was eminently *expedient* for purely *practical* reasons. That this, moreover, was the real intention of the framers of that much debated clause, is evident, inasmuch as, aside from the fact that *no Doctrine of an Apostolic Succession through the Episcopate alone had ever been set forth by the Church,*[1] the proposition made by Bishop Charles

[1] It is singular with what persistency the idea is maintained that the Church has authorized such a doctrine, when even the expression "*Apostolic Succession*" occurs nowhere, so far as we have been able to ascertain, in any of the formularies of the Church of England, and but *once* only in our American Prayer Book, *and then with a meaning the very reverse of that which "Catholics" attach to it.* It is the "*Min-*

Wordsworth to the Conference, that in view of the above measure, "we should now recognize the full ministerial standing of clergymen presbyterially ordained, providing that hereafter all their ordinations should be by Bishops," was agreed to by "ten out of the twelve members of the Committee," the Archbishop of Canterbury adding his "very full and hearty sympathy with it." The Conference refrained only from actually taking this last step because "being only a Conference, it had no authority so to act."[1] Moreover Dr. Vincent, the Assistant Bishop of Southern Ohio, who appears to have

isters"—not the Bishops—"of Apostolic Succession" referred to in the Office of Institution—the one office of the Prayer Book, by the way, which has *not been imposed upon the Church as obligatory* (vide Canon XXIX, Conven. 1808). It was only *after* an attempt made by the Connecticut Churchmen to introduce the "Catholic" doctrine of an Apostolic Succession through the Episcopate *alone had been signally defeated* (by rejection of Art. XI. of Proposed "Seventeen Articles") that the same men who defeated it subsequently allowed the use of the expression "Apostolic Succession" in the Office of Institution provided it were modified by the words "*Ministers of*," instead of "*Bishops of*." This was wholly acceptable to the Low Churchmen, who with their leader—Bishop White—openly stood for the *then* current Anglican opinion that *all* Ministers who were faithful to the true teaching of the Apostles were *the Successors of the Apostles*, whether Episcopally ordained or not. It was the very men who stood for *the validity of Presbyterian Ordination* (c. Bp. White's *Case of the American Churches*) who permitted this phrase. For a full account of the matter, the reader is referred to a work by the author entitled *Apostolic Succession and the Problem of Unity*.

[1] The last Pan-Anglican Conference gave further approval to what was substantially the same proposition regarding the union of the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches in Australia. How can 'Catholics" reconcile such utterances with *their* theories of the Episcopate and Apostolic Succession?

been in a position to know the mind of the Committee, openly assured the public shortly after that this was the intent of the clause. Says he: "Nothing is said here of Episcopacy as of Divine institution or *necessity*, nothing of "Apostolic Succession," nothing of a Scriptural origin or a doctrinal nature in the institution. It is expressly proposed here only in its 'historical character' and as 'locally adapted to the varying needs of God's people.' All else, unless it be its Scripturalness, is a matter of opinion, to which this Church HAS NEVER FORMALLY COMMITTED HERSELF. Her position here is the same broad and generous one taken in the Preface to her Ordinal. That phrase, 'the Historic Episcopate,' WAS DELIBERATELY CHOSEN AS DECLARING NOT A DOCTRINE BUT A FACT, AND AS BEING GENERAL ENOUGH FOR ALL VARIANTS." (Cited in *Church Reunion on Basis of Lambeth Conference Propositions*, p. 48.) There can be no doubt whatever, therefore, that this was the meaning of the phrase, and the cordial response of Dr. Briggs and other prominent divines to the proposition on this understanding, fully evidences what was, and is, the attitude of Protestant leaders, towards a rational and sane conception of the Episcopate. Had it not been for the agitation immediately aroused in "Catholic" circles lest this broad and comprehensive view of the matter should be allowed to pass, it is quite safe to say the effect of the famous Quadrilateral would have been far reaching. As it was, the Protestant Churches, generally, dropped all further consideration of the matter, until the

Episcopal Church could give official assurance that nothing further was demanded than what the plain wording of the clause implied. In short, Brethren of the Anglican Communion, you hold the key to the solution of one of the most difficult as well as one of the most important problems confronting the Church Catholic to-day. Only exercise a little common-sense moderation, and commendable Christian liberality, a liberality, remember, which involves the sacrifice of no principle whatever, the surrender of no essential dogma of the Faith, nor even a single OFFICIAL doctrine of your Church. Only exercise such a commendable spirit and, with the probable exception of the Roman Communion, you may ultimately bring the whole Christian World into one common organization. Whereas, once lose your heads, and be led away by vain dreams of "exclusive" authority and catholicity, and all hope of organic unity is lost. The one view makes for Church Unity, because, while sacrificing no ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE, it simultaneously *recognizes every denomination* as a part of the Church Catholic which it seeks to unite. The other places an insuperable obstacle in the way of such Unity by insisting upon a principle as INDISPENSABLE, which can never be shown such, and which simultaneously *excludes at least one fourth* of those "who profess and call themselves Christians" from membership in the Church Catholic. We repeat: to consider these pages an attack upon Episcopacy *per se*, is wholly to misunderstand, or else intentionally to misrepresent us. We

are not attacking anything that is really *true* and *valuable* in this institution, but only the false and superficial *accretions* which have been from time to time added to it. In fact, we are not attacking *Episcopacy* but *Prelacy*, not attacking the reasonable and just claims that it has a right to offer, but only those unjust pretensions too often made in its behalf, which can never be substantiated. The Episcopate proper is of too great value and importance to the Church, possesses far too much *genuine* worth, ever to need to be bolstered up by such unscholarly and utterly indefensible pretensions. Indeed, it is these very false, superfluous, and unnecessary claims that have created the present antipathy towards it upon the part of the Protestant Churches generally. Such EXAGGERATIONS are not going to secure victory for it, but only ruin—simply because they are exaggerations—simply because they are narrow, intolerant, exclusive, and are further WELL KNOWN TO BE UNTRUE. On the other hand, a moderate, rational, common-sense view of the Episcopate, such as the English Reformers maintained, and such as this Church has ever OFFICIALLY recognized, is impregnable. To put it squarely, if you are going to insist that the Episcopate is, by Divine appointment, an absolute ESSENTIAL to the very BEING or EXISTENCE of the Church so that all those bodies that are without it are entirely cut off from the CATHOLIC CHURCH, and cannot be recognized as parts of it, you are going to make a claim: which (1) You can never *demonstrate* to be true; which (2) Is contrary to the OFFICIAL

teaching of your own Church; which (3) Will never be admitted by Protestants generally, because satisfied that it is wholly false; and which (4) Because of the obstacle it presents to Christian Unity, will largely place upon you the awful responsibility of continuing the spirit of schism in the Church Universal. On the other hand, if you will defend the Episcopate upon the reasonable ground: that (1) No matter what view may be taken of its origin, it unquestionably possesses DIVINE AUTHORITY; that (2) It is that form of Government which is HISTORIC and was PREVALENT down to the Reformation; that (3) It continues *still* to be the PREVAILING form of Government in the Christian world; that (4) This antiquity and universality naturally demand a consideration and respect, to which no other form of government can lay claim; that (5) Experience has proved it to be the most expedient for insuring stability, order, unity, and continuity in the Church; that (6) The further fact that it is even at this day the form under which the MAJORITY of Christian people are living, makes it the only form of government that it can reasonably be expected the Christian World can agree upon. If you will defend it upon these grounds asking Protestant Churches to adopt it, not because it is a *sine qua non*, and their own forms without *validity*, but because it is the only form that has PREVAILED, that is really *Historic*, that has, speaking generally, been characteristic of the Church Universal throughout its entire History, and because it is for many other reasons the BEST and the most EXPEDIENT,

and the only one that, from a practical standpoint, can be agreed upon, you will disarm prejudice, will win commendation, and whether successful or not will at least remove any charge of narrowness and exclusiveness from us, and place the responsibility of further schism elsewhere. On the other hand, to advocate a change of Name, and the adoption of the title "The American Catholic Church," on the ground that the latter is "*comprehensive*"—and will "*make for unity*," etc., is simply ridiculous. Think of it! The title which *unchurches* more than one hundred millions of our fellow Christians, lauded as "*comprehensive*," exploited as an *eirenicon!* Nor could the immense loss sustained upon this side be compensated by any gain upon the other. For such action would be as useless in its overtures to Rome, as it would be insulting to our Protestant brethren. For be it remembered by all who are beguiled by such visions, that reunion with Rome can never be attained by any mere abandonment of our Protestant title, but only by complete submission to all her pretensions—in short, only by unconditional surrender. *He who does not know this, simply does not know Rome.* Right here, we venture to make a prediction, which we sincerely hope may not be true, but which we cannot persuade ourselves to believe is false. Brethren of the Anglican Communion, it may be that before these words are printed the principles for which the martyrs of England laid down their lives, those beacon-fires of the Reformation which old Hugh Latimer asserted even with his dying breath should

never be extinguished,—those PROTESTANT ideals and doctrines then stamped upon the Church of England, and ever since OFFICIAL in this Communion —Ay! Those Protestant Principles now falsely denounced as uncatholic, illiberal, obsolete, will be abundantly vindicated to a shocked and startled world. We say no more. He who hath the eyes to see, will see and comprehend. We speak here only our convictions. We make no pretension to prophetic vision. It may be that we are mistaken. If so, we believe we are mistaken only as to the *time*, not as to the *fact*. Be this as it may, the realization or non-realization of such an event in no wise affects the argument set forth in these pages. Under any circumstances, the truth of these principles remains unchanged, and the importance of their enunciation continues imperative. In a word, then, Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church, we have reached the parting of the ways. The principles of the Reformation and the principles of the "Catholic" party are admitted upon all sides to be mutually exclusive. The former are OFFICIAL in this Church, the latter are not; though their adherents are seeking earnestly to substitute them for the former, to have them recognized as official. We cannot longer defer the issue. You are compelled, this day, to choose between the two. There is no straddling a contradiction. You must choose between Protestantism and pseudo-catholicism; between the creed of the English Reformers and the creed of John Henry Newman; between the ideal which led the former *out of* Rome,

and the ideal which led the latter *into* Rome; between the doctrines which have been official and authoritative in this Church from the beginning, and those which were officially and authoritatively condemned by your Church at the time of the Oxford Movement; between a view of the Episcopate which is reasonable, defensible, and liberal, and one which is unreasonable, indefensible, and intolerant; between one which is comprehensive enough to recognize *all* Christian Bodies (the Roman included) as valid branches of the Catholic Church, and the other which is narrow enough to "unchurch" all that have not the Historic Episcopate; between an existing title which, because it is protestant only against all illiberal, intolerant, and exclusive theories respecting the limits of the Church Universal, is, for that reason, protestant only that it may be liberal, broad, and truly catholic in its conception of the Church, and a proposed title which, on the other hand, would be "Catholic" only that it might narrow the confines of the Church Universal, and exclude one fourth the Christian World from membership therein. In short, you have to choose between denominational pride and Church Unity, between bearing the arrogant title of an exclusive ecclesiastical set (The American Catholic Church) and becoming the peacemakers for universal Christendom.

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